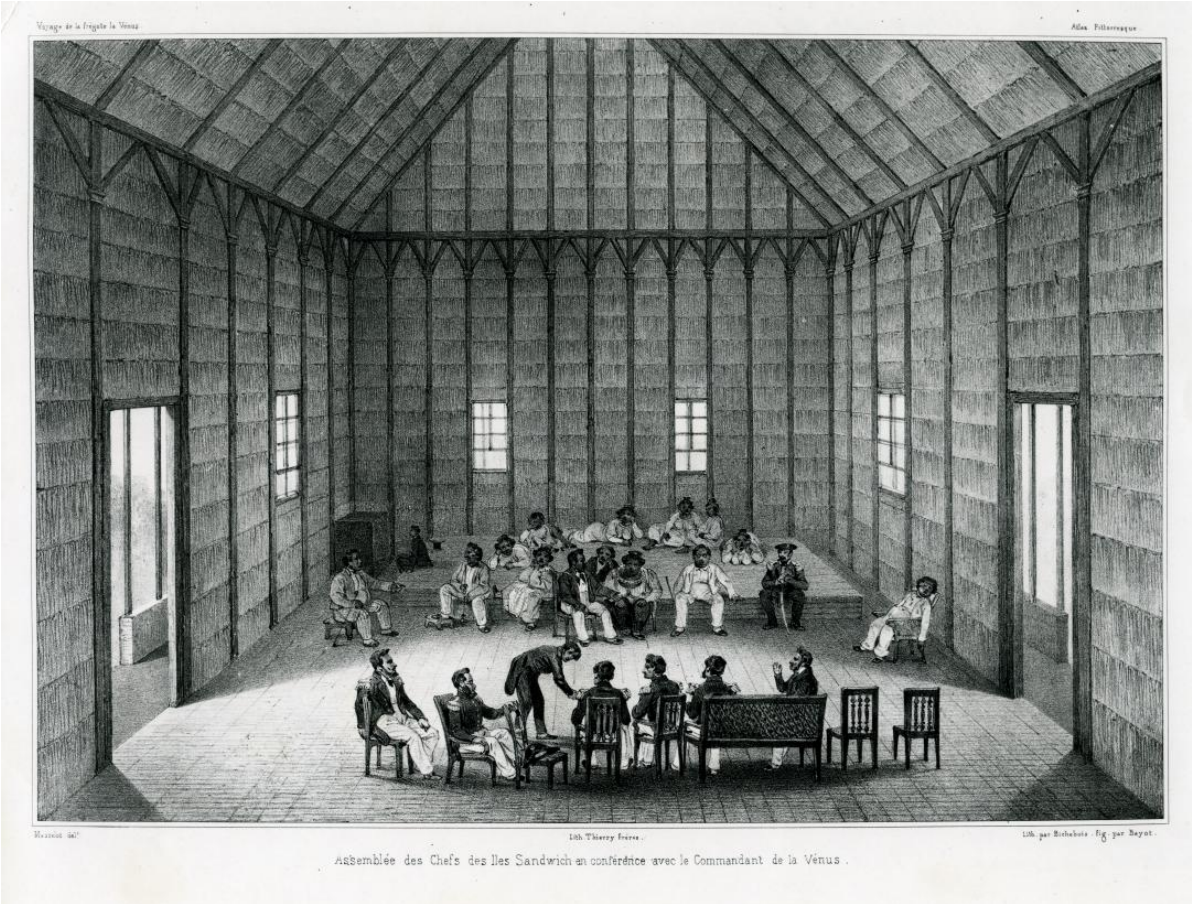
STUDY TO IDENTIFY THE PRESENCE OF PREVIOUSLY UNIDENTIFIED TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES IN SECTION 4 FOR THE HONOLULU RAIL TRANSIT PROJECT

Draft Management Summary



Prepared for:
Parsons Brinkerhoff, Inc.
Honolulu, Hawai‘i

Prepared by:
The SRI Foundation
Rio Rancho, New Mexico
And
Kumu Pono Associates LLC
Lanai City, Hawai‘i

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Cover image: Hale Kauwila (Kaulia) from “Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, Vol. II – No. 3, The Ancient Hawaiian House,” by William T. Brigham, A.M. , Sc. P (Columbia), Honolulu Hawai‘i, Bishop Museum Press, 1908:292, Figure 92. http://hbs.bishopmuseum.org/pubs-online/pdf/mem2-3.pdf

Caption: “Assemblee des Chefs Iles Sandwich en conference avec le Commandant de la Venus.” Lithograph by Bichebois with figures by Bayot, after drawing by Louis-Jules Masselot, ca. 1840. BISHOP MUSEUM

Executive Summary

The Honolulu Rail Transit Project (the Project) is a proposed rapid transit system intended to provide fast, reliable public transportation service to the people of Honolulu, on the Island of O‘ahu, Hawai‘i. The Project is funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), an agency of the US Department of Transportation and the City and County of Honolulu, represented by the Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation (HART). Federal funding makes the project an undertaking subject to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and its implementing regulations at 36 CFR §800. Pursuant to 36 CFR §800.14, the FTA met its Section 106 obligations in January 2011 by entering into a Programmatic Agreement (PA) with consulting parties. The PA requires FTA to identify any previously unknown traditional cultural properties (TCPs) that may be eligible for listing to the National Register of Historic Places. The focus of this TCP study is on Section 4 of the Project. The findings are summarized below.

1. Extensive research of archival records in both English and Hawaiian was conducted. In the course of this investigation, 187 inoa ‘āina (named places) were recorded in the Project vicinity. From this master listing, 32 wahi pana (sacred and storied places) were identified in or near the Section 4 Project area. Of the 32 wahi pana, 24 are located within the APE, in whole or in part, and eight are outside of the APE.

2. An oral history program was conducted to supplement archival research. Eight elders (kūpuna) were interviewed to elicit memories and stories of place that could help in the investigation of wahi pana. Two additional interviews conducted for development projects near the Section 4 Project area were also included in the oral history program. No new wahi pana were identified in or near the project area nor did the information gained through oral interview change the understanding of the wahi pana identified through archival research.

3. A third study was conducted comparing the location and description of wahi pana with known archaeological sites, including those recently identified for the Section 4 project. The intent was to explore the possible connections between sacred and storied places and archaeological sites to determine if there may be archaeological sites that are also properties of religious and cultural significance. Evidence linking the wahi pana identified through this investigation with known archaeological sites was weak. No wahi pana with direct links to known archaeological sites were identified.

All 32 wahi pana identified in this study may be eligible for listing to the National Register of Historic Places under criteria (a) or (b) or both and may retain their integrity of location. Other aspects of historic integrity, however, including integrity of condition and relationship that are germane to evaluating TCPs will require consultation with the Native Hawaiian community. It is recommended that FTA and HART present the findings of this report to the Native Hawaiian Organizations that are party to the HART Project Programmatic Agreement and consult with them on the National Register eligibility of the wahi pana identified in this study.

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Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

(Hawaiian Dictionary http://www.wehewehe.org/, *accessed March 29, 2013;* Pukui and Elbert *1992*)

ahupua‘a	Land division
‘āina	Land, earth
ahu	Altars
akua	God, spirit, supernatural
ala hele	trails
alanui aupuni	Government roads
ali‘i	Chief, chiefess, noble
aloha	Love, mercy, compassion
aloha ‘āina	To have love for the land
‘aumākua	Family gods and guardians
auwai	Irrigation system, ditch
heiau	Temple
‘ili	Land division
‘ilina	Grave, tomb, cemetery
inoa ‘āina	Land or place name
iwi	Bones of the dead, burial
iwi kūpuna	Bones of the ancestors, burial
kahawai	Streams
kama‘āina	Native born
kānaka	People
kapu	Taboo, prohibition
ko‘a	Fishing shrine
konohiki	Headman of an ahupua‘a under the chief
kuleana	Small piece of property, responsibility
kupuna	Grandparent (or of that generation), elder; plural: kūpuna
maka‘āinana	Commoner, people of the land
makahiki	Annual harvest festival dedicated to the god Lono, beginning about the middle of October and lasting about 4 months
makai	Toward the sea (direction)
makana	Gift
māhele	To divide, apportion, to cut into parts; the land division of 1848
mālama ‘āina	Caring for the land and natural environment
mana	Supernatural or divine power
mana‘o	Thoughts
mauka	Toward the mountains (direction)
mo‘olelo	Tradition, history, story, tale, myth, legend
mō‘ī	King, sovereign, ruler
‘ohana	Family, relative, kin group
po‘e kahiko	Ancient people
pōhaku	Stones
wahi pana	Sacred and storied place
wai	Water

Introduction

The Honolulu Rail Transit Project (the Project) is a proposed rapid transit system intended to provide fast, reliable public transportation service between East Kapolei and Ala Moana Center. The Project consists of an elevated guideway that is approximately 20 miles long, with 21 stations and supporting facilities. The transit corridor includes most of the residential and commercial areas on O'ahu, much of which has been heavily impacted by development over time. The Project will be constructed in four phases, or sections. Shown in Figure 1 is each Project section ("area"). The subject of this report is Section 4, the "City Center" portion of the Project.

Figure 1. Project Corridor, Showing the Four Sections of Construction.

The Project is funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), an agency of the US Department of Transportation and the City and County of Honolulu, represented by the Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation (HART). Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and its implementing regulations at 36 CFR §800, the FTA is responsible for taking into account the effects of the Project on any historic property that is listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) prior to a federal project or undertaking. The undertaking, in this case, is the expenditure of federal funds for the Project. Pursuant to 36 CFR §800.14, the FTA met its Section 106 obligations in January 2011 by

entering into a Programmatic Agreement (PA) with consulting parties, including Native Hawaiian Organizations (NHOs), who have a legal interest in or a concern about the effects of the project on National Register eligible historic properties. Historic properties may include Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs).

> "A traditional cultural property… can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community." (Parker and King 1990:1)

Under Stipulation II of the PA entitled, "Traditional Cultural Properties," the FTA and HART committed to conducting a study to "… determine the presence of previously unidentified TCPs within the Area of Potential Effects." The Area of Potential Effects (APE), as defined at 36 CFR § 800.16. (y), is "the geographic area or areas within which an undertaking may directly or indirectly cause alteration in the character or use of historic properties, if any such properties exist." Documentation regarding the APE, developed for the PA, is available at http://www.honolulutransit.org/media/80428/20080815-Historic-Technical-Report-HHCTCP.pdf (accessed March 29, 2013).

As previously explained (SRI Foundation 2012), in traditional Hawaiian culture, TCPs can include wahi pana (sacred and storied places). Wahi pana are culturally important because they identify places, and moʻolelo (stories, traditions) associated with these places, which are part of larger cultural landscapes encompassing Oʻahu, and each of the islands in the Hawaiian archipelago. These landscapes are culturally constituted, products of a worldview that recognizes all of life as an interdependent relationship among akua (the gods), kānaka (the people), and ʻāina (the land). It is the responsibility of the people to care for the land (mālama ʻāina), including these sacred and storied places, for in doing so the land will meet the needs of the people. This belief is expressed in the Hawaiian concept of "aloha ʻāina" (love of the land) (Maly and Maly 2012). The traditional Hawaiian worldview makes no distinction between the sacred and the secular. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, under its implementing regulations at 36 CFR §800, recognizes places such as wahi pana as "… places of religious and cultural significance." For the purposes of the HART TCP study, the focus of the investigation was on identifying wahi pana that are located within, passing through, or adjacent to the project APE as defined.

To facilitate the TCP investigation, the Project alignment was divided into two study areas defined by the ahupuaʻa (traditional land divisions) through which the project alignment passes. The first study area includes HART Project Sections 1-3 from Honouliuli to Kahauiki. The second study area encompasses HART Project Section 4 from Kalihi to Mānoa (see Figure 1). The SRI Foundation, a historic preservation consulting firm in Rio Rancho, New Mexico, with national expertise in Section 106 compliance, conducted the study in both study areas covering all four project sections. The SRI Foundation hired Kumu Pono Associates LLC (Kumu Pono), a Hawaiian firm with expertise in Hawaiian language, history, and ethnography to conduct research and analysis, as well as oral interviews with kūpuna (elders) for the TCP study.

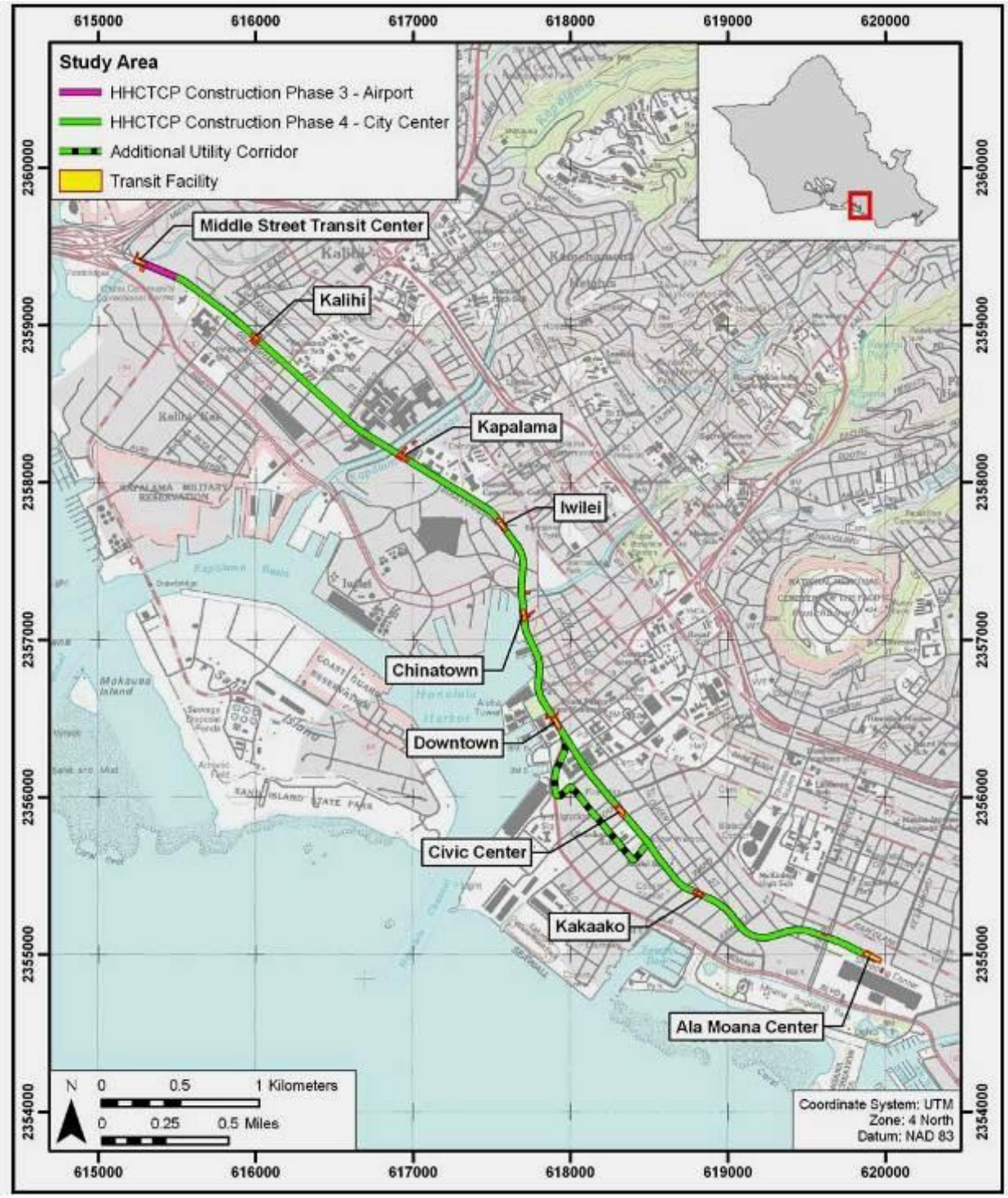


Figure 2. Project Corridor, Showing Section 4.

In April 2012, the SRI Foundation and Kumu Pono submitted a draft report on their study of TCPs within the proposed HART project for sections 1-3 (SRI Foundation 2012). The report consisted of two volumes: *Draft Report, Study to Identify the Presence of Previously Unidentified Traditional Cultural Properties in Sections 1-3 for the Honolulu Rail Transit Project: Management Summary*; and, a supporting technical document, *He Moʻolelo ʻĀina–Traditions and Storied Places in the District of ʻEwa and Moanalua (in the District of Kona), Island of Oʻahu: A Traditional Cultural Properties Study – Technical Report* (Maly and Maly 2012). Twenty-seven TCPs were identified in or near Project Sections 1-3 as potentially National Register eligible historic properties.

This management report presents the preliminary findings of our research to determine if previously unidentified TCPs are in or near the HART Section 4 alignment (see Figure 2). This report is a companion to the Section 1-3 TCP study (SRI Foundation 2012). As before, our management recommendations are supported by a technical report prepared by Kumu Pono Associates, Inc., entitled, *He Moʻolelo ʻĀina–Traditions and Storied Places in the District of Kona, Honolulu Region (Lands of Kalihi to Waikīkī), Island of Oʻahu: A Traditional Cultural Properties Study – Technical Report* (Technical Report). Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting (KCHC), under contract to Kumu Pono, conducted oral interviews with kūpuna and other knowledgeable kānaka to identify places or stories about places that may be TCPs in the Section 4 project area. The oral history report is entitled, *Oral History–Consultation Interview Program-Ahupuaʻa of Kalihi to Waikīkī, District of Kona, Island of Oʻahu.* The oral history report is included in the Technical Report as Appendix D.

Relationship between Sections 1-3 TCP report and the Section 4 TCP report

A few notes on the relationship between the TCP report for Sections 1-3 and this report on Section 4 are warranted before we present our results. The Sections 1-3 report includes discussions about the National Register of Historic Places and TCPs, explaining how the traditional Hawaiian understanding of wahi pana fit within the National Register construct and can be evaluated as historic properties. Topics addressed included traditional cultural properties, establishing historic contexts, linking historical importance to historic properties, determining historical integrity and other concepts that are applied in making National Register eligibility determinations. The report also included a section on the Hawaiian perspective on, and relationship with, the ʻāina, which is relevant to understanding the importance of wahi pana as viewed by the Native Hawaiian community. Topics discussed in the Sections 1-3 management report will be repeated, summarized, or referenced where needed in this report. We direct the reader to the Sections 1-3 reports (SRI Foundation 2012; Maly and Maly 2012) for a complete discussion on these and other relevant topics.

The Section 4 report also presents new information on a number of subjects. For the Sections 1-3 TCP management report, five historic context statements or themes were developed to provide a means of evaluating wahi pana as historically significant places that may be eligible for listing to the National Register. All five themes were applicable to the 27 wahi pana identified in Sections 1-3 as potentially eligible historic properties. For this report, two of the themes ("Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit

world," and "Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history") were augmented so that all wahi pana identified within the Section 4 project area, as further discussed below, could be placed in appropriate contextual frames for National Register evaluation.

In addition, oral interviews conducted by KCHC were prepared as a supplement to the Technical Report in order to capture the manaʻo (thoughts), and memories of kūpuna, and other knowledgeable people, regarding wahi pana in or near the Section 4 project area. The transcripts of those interviews and an analysis of the findings are presented in Appendix D of the Technical Report and are cited here, as needed.

Lastly, the TCP study is one of a number of cultural investigations that are being conducted for the HART project. Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi (CSH) has recently completed an archaeological investigation of the Section 4 project area to locate any archaeological deposits that may be affected by project related construction (Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi 2013). The draft results of the CSH study, plus data on previously recorded archaeological sites, was compared with information on the wahi pana identified in or near the Project area. The purpose of the comparative analysis was to determine if there is sufficient information to correlate archaeological sites and wahi pana. The result of that analysis is also provided.

Methods

Research conducted for the Section 4 report was directed to achieve the same goals using the same methods as the Sections 1-3 report thereby ensuring consistency (see SRI Foundation 2012). These tasks are:

1. Research in primary Hawaiian and English language records covering traditions, history of residency and land use, surveys, and descriptions of historic development and changes in the landscape.

2. Develop a series of annotated historic maps to assist in the identification of named localities and wahi pana, which might be considered in identification of TCPs.

3. Conduct oral history interviews and consultation with kamaʻāina (native born) and others with knowledge of the land.

4. Conduct a spatial analysis and mapping of wahi pana.

5. Analyze the wahi pana according to National Register evaluation process.

6. Prepare a report on the findings of the above tasks and recommendations to HART.

Kumu Pono conducted the archival research for this study during the fall and winter of 2012 finishing its work in the spring of 2013. Accessed were sources of information on native lore, land tenure (1848-1920s), surveys (1840s-1930s), testimonies of witnesses before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1860s-1920s), and records of land conveyances (Kumu Pono Associates 2013). As noted, the archival investigation conducted by Kumu Pono augmented research conducted by CSH as part of the archaeological inventory of the Section 4 Project area.

Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting conducted oral interviews with members of the Native Hawaiian community in January and February, 2013. As further discussed below, KCHC conducted eight interviews with kūpuna who grew up in neighborhoods that are within or near the Section 4 project area. These oral histories are supplemented by two interviews KCHC conducted for another project in the Kākāʻako area. The results present eye witness accounts of life in the Project area told by people who remember growing up in these neighborhoods and the stories they heard from their ʻohana (family) about the Honolulu area (Kumu Pono Associates 2013, Appendix D).

Ethnographic and Documentary Resources

The Section 4 archival-documentary research effort followed the same methods and used the same sources as those consulted for the Section 1-3 report (Maly and Maly 2012). The resources cited in this study were found in local and national repositories, including, but not limited to:

- The State of Hawaiʻi:
- Archives
- Bureau of Conveyances
- Land Court
- Survey Division
- University of Hawaiʻi Hamilton and Moʻokini Libraries
- The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
- The Hawaiian Historical Society
- The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Houghton Library, Harvard; digitized in the collection of Kumu Pono)
- The Mission Houses Museum & Library
- The United States Geological Survey Library (Denver, Colorado), and
- National Archives.

Hawaiian language newspapers that were in operation from 1834 and 1948 were an important source of information. Only a fraction of these materials have been translated from Hawaiian into English. For the HART Project, some of these were translated by Kumu Pono for the first time (see Kumu Pono Associates 2013). Land records also played an important role in the TCP study. Kumu Pono reviewed the original land records for the land areas in each ahupuaʻa (land division) crossed by the Section 4 Project to identify place names that might be within the Project area. From these localities come the candidates for consideration as wahi pana that are presented in this report.

Oral History Program

Oral histories provide an invaluable amount of information regarding historic events, places and people. Through further examination, they also offer unique perspectives enabling one to better understand the cultural and historical context, and significance of the life and lessons shared by oral history participants. The personal recollections and experiences also contain the voices and

knowledge of their kūpuna, ʻohana and friends, and is more than ʻike and manaʻo of each single individual interviewed.

Recording oral history interviews is an important part of the historical review process. The interviews help to demonstrate how certain knowledge is handed down through time, from generation to generation. These personal narratives often are richer and more animated than the accounts found in reports that are purely academic or archival in nature. The process of conducting oral history interviews may result in learning things that might be overlooked in other forms of study. Also, with the passing of time, knowledge and personal recollections undergo changes. Sometimes, that which was once important is forgotten, or assigned a lesser value. So today, when individuals—particularly those from outside the culture which originally assigned the cultural values to places, practices, and customs—evaluate things such as resources, cultural practices, and history, their importance is diminished. Oral historical narratives provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the cultural attachment—relationship—shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

While the oral history component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge, the documentation is incomplete. Oral history interviews cannot capture all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. They provide only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. Every effort has been made to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts, and recommendations of the people who shared their personal histories in this study.

As with any personal account or recollection, especially following an extended period of time, there can be numerous interpretations for the same event, place, or activity. Interpretations are dependent on the numerous factors that naturally influence the individual's perspective, including belief systems, values, and ethnic background. Other considerations are that participants in oral history interviews sometimes have different recollections of history. They may remember different things regarding the same location or the events of a particular period. There are a number of reasons that differences are recorded in oral history interviews, including:

1. Recollections result from varying values assigned to an area or occurrence during an interviewees formative years;

2. They reflect localized or familial interpretations of the particular history being conveyed;

3. With the passing of many years, sometimes that which was heard from elders during one's childhood 70 or more years ago, may transform into that which the interviewee recalls having actually experienced;

4. In some cases it can be the result of the introduction of information into traditions that is of more recent historical origin; and

5. Some aspects of an interviewee's recollections may also be shaped by a broader world view. In the face of continual change to one's cultural and natural landscapes, there can evolve a sense of urgency in caring for what has been.

With this in mind, one must take caution when using oral history and ethnographic studies, as statements should be compared and verified before being taken as fact. Nevertheless, diversity in the stories told, should be seen as something that will enhance interpretation, preservation, and long-term management programs for the lands crossed by the rail corridor.

Under the direction of Kumu Pono, and as part of the larger TCP study to identify cultural heritage that may be affected by the proposed Honolulu Rail Transit Project, KCHC conducted an Oral History/Consultation Program for Section 4 of the Project area. Kahiwa Cultural Heritage Consulting's report, entitled, "*Oral History-Consultation Interview Program-Ahupua'a of Kalihi to Waikīkī, District of Kona, Island of O'ahu*, is presented as Appendix D of the Technical Report (Kumu Pono Associates 2013). The purpose of this oral history program, as well the current comprehensive study, is to determine whether previously unidentified traditional cultural properties exist, or existed, within that part of the Honolulu region (Kalihi to Waikīkī) covered by Section 4 of the Rail project.

As discussed in detail in Appendix D of the Technical Report (Kumu Pono Associates 2013), cultural properties consist of a diverse set of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Tangible properties include physical sites, places, and artifacts. Intangible cultural heritage are the "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts" (UNESCO 2012). Because much of the land contained within Section 4 has been intensely developed and modified, oral histories provide an avenue to identify such cultural properties for which little or no formal documentation has been recorded.

Appendix D of the Technical Report provides a more thorough discussion of the oral history program and the methodology that KCHC used, and information on previous oral history studies within the project area. Following an introduction of the participating interviewees and based on a summary of their relevant comments, the report provides the interviewees' recommendations for the HART project. The full interview transcripts, biographical information, and summaries of selected interview topics for the interviewees are presented in Appendix D of the Technical Report.

The oral history interviews were conducted during January and February 2013 using Federal guidance documents such as the National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker & King 1990). While preparing to conduct the oral history interviews for Sections 1-3 of the project area, Kumu Pono and the SRI Foundation developed a general questionnaire outline to be used to help direct the oral history interviews. A slightly modified version of the questionnaire was used for the oral history interviews conducted for Section 4 (Appendix A of the Management Summary). The questionnaire set the general direction of the interviews but it did not limit interviewees to those topics. During the interviews, interviewees were provided an aerial map with the proposed rail route and stations, and were also given a set of seven historic maps, dating from 1875 to 1888, of Kalihi, Pālama, and Honolulu as makana (gift). These maps also served as reference and helped orient the interviewees to the Section 4 project area relative to the general area of Honolulu. Several of the interviewees were able to review these historic maps during consultation and any

references to place names and historic landmarks are made to these maps and noted in transcriptions. Personnel for the Section 4 oral history interviews consisted of lead ethnographer and transcriptionist, Mina Elison, MA, of KCHC. Kepa Maly of Kumu Pono directed her work.

Elison conducted a multi-phased process, beginning with contacting potential interviewees and asking knowledgeable community members and organizations for referrals to kamaʻāina and kūpuna of the areas of study. She also researched previously conducted oral history studies. The second step was conducting the oral history interviews, followed by their transcription or summarization. The final phase of the process was the analysis of the oral history data and report write-up.

The following criteria were used to select interviewees:

1. the individual has/had ties to the area of study;

2. the individual is known as a Hawaiian cultural resource person;

3. the individual is a knowledgeable cultural practitioner; or

4. the individual was referred to the ethnographer by other kūpuna, kamaʻāina or cultural resource professionals.

Each interviewee received a copy of the interview transcript for his or her review, along with a transcript release form. Digital recordings of interviews, interview notes and transcript release forms are curated by KCHC. All interviewees receive a copy of the final report, as well as digital audio recordings of their interviews. For a more thorough discussion of this process and the release form, along with interview transcripts, see Appendix D of the Technical Report.

TCP Mapping Methods

The goal of the Section 4 TCP investigation is to determine whether or not previously unidentified wahi pana are located in or near the Project area. This is necessary so that HART and the FTA can make informed decisions, in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Division, regarding possible effects to any wahi pana found to be eligible for listing to the National Register. Plotting the locations of traditional Hawaiian named places against modern landscape features required careful examination of written historic accounts naming and describing these places and then plotting their location on historic maps of Honolulu and adjoining neighborhoods. Following this, using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) spatial mapping technology, the historic maps were rectified to match scale and orientation of modern maps showing the Project area and the rail alignment. The methods that were used to do this analysis are the same as those used for the TCP mapping in Sections 1-3 (SRI Foundation 2012).

One significant departure from the earlier TCP study relates to how the wahi pana identified in this analysis were plotted in space. The Sections 1-3 Project area from Kapolei to Honolulu covers lands that historically were rural in character. The Ewa (western) end of the rail alignment is still largely rural. In order to relate the location of wahi pana it was necessary to use

a common reference point, a feature in the historical landscape that observers of the time mentioned in their accounts and in Land Commission claim/award documents. One of these features was the Old Government Road (alanui aupuni).

The landscape in the Section 4 Project area experienced rapid transformation following the establishment of Christian missions in the 1820s and the subsequent emergence of Honolulu as an important harbor town in the whaling trade by the mid-19th century (Daws 1968). Native Hawaiian land use and settlement patterns were transformed by the introduction of Euro-American building traditions and new settlement practices that included street grids. These historic roads became a way to both navigate across the land and a means of spatial reference. Because of its emerging significance to Westerners, Honolulu and the surrounding areas were mapped more intensively than other areas on O‘ahu, and the maps show more detail (Todd Tulchin, personal communication). Many of the inoa ‘āina (named places) identified for this study (see Kumu Pono Associates 2013) were noted on these maps. Other named places not on historical maps were referred to in land documents, or historical narratives, in relation to other places (or Land Commission Awards) that could be found on maps. Historic street alignments were also used in the Downtown Honolulu area, when referenced in the source material. Using these materials, CSH Inc., and Kumu Pono prepared maps plotting the location of wahi pana in the Section 4 Project area. It is important to recognize that while every effort was made to accurately plot wahi pana identified during research against the modern landscape, the precision of these locations varies depending on the nature and quality of the source material. For this reason, the locations of the wahi pana are represented as approximations.

Contexts/Themes

Historic contexts are tools that establish the thematic, temporal and spatial parameters needed to recognize places of historic importance. In following the requirements of the National Register, we have developed a number of contexts, called themes, that are applicable to the National Register evaluation of named places found in or near the Project area.

The contexts/themes chosen for the TCP study are listed below and summarized from the Sections 1-3 TCP management report (SRI Foundation 2012):

1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land

2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world

3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history

4. Places of traditional resource management

5. Trails and boundary markers

Thematic supplements specifically developed for the Section 4 TCP study area are presented at the end of this section.

Places Where the Gods and Demigods Walked the Land

Hawaiian gods and demigods are present in natural phenomena, the environment, and living beings, inanimate objects, and features on the landscape. By their names and stories, wahi pana identify places where gods and demigods walked the land, where they played a role in human experience, and where they continue to exist.

The relationship between gods, land, and people is intimate and direct for Hawaiians; they trace their ancestry back to the same parentage (Beckwith 1940; Kameʻeleihiwa 1992). This interconnection persisted as gods took on physical form and moved about the landscape to interact with humans and the ʻāina. The gods are part the natural environment – features on the landscape, animals, birds, and creatures of the oceans – and the natural elements, such as wind, rain, and sky.

Hawaiians maintained an extensive oral history through their mele and moʻolelo (tradition, story), which covered every aspect of Hawaiian life. Mele (chants) record thousands of years of history, aspects of daily life, actions of deities, and the interactions of gods, ʻāina, and Hawaiians. Important chants and moʻolelo were maintained by kūpuna and other knowledgeable individuals who served as stewards of the stories. They assessed the stories, corrected errors, and determined whether, and how, important stories would be perpetuated.

Many of the accounts presented in this study come from Native Hawaiian accounts written in newspapers from the mid-19th and early 20th centuries. Some of the stories translated for this study duplicate previously published accounts, but some are new or provide additional detail.

For the purposes of this study, the geographic parameters of this historic context can be considered the Hawaiian Islands as a whole, but particularly the island of Oʻahu, and is directly applicable to the Section 4 Project area. Hawaiian gods interacted across the islands, as told in many of the mele and moʻolelo. The deification of ancestors, their rise to demi-god status, and their association to particular places, was a pan-Hawaiian Islands occurrence (Kepa Maly, personal communication).

This historic context takes place in a mythical time that transcends the temporal limits as defined by Western thought and culture. Property types associated with this historic context include physical manifestations of gods, such as geological features; features on the landscape where gods participated in some activity, and resource collection areas such as fishponds, agricultural fields, and salt beds, that are associated with a god.

Places of Ceremonial Importance, Tribute Sites, Places Associated with the Dead and Spirit World

The Hawaiians' interdependent relationship with god and land relied in part on specific obligations that Hawaiians were required to meet in order to maintain balance and harmony. The hierarchical social structure and the kapu (taboo, prohibition) system were essential in dictating the actions of any given individual in order to protect and support this balance. Dudley states, "Man was more than just an observer of the growth and fertility of nature. At every level

of society in pre-Cook Hawai‘i, examples are found of observances which either limited man’s freedom of action or required him to put forth considerable effort in order to benefit nature” (1990:97).

Prayers and rituals, as well as physical labor, were ways by which people maintained this relationship. Prayers, rituals, and offerings were conducted in the course of daily activities, at times incorporating improvised altars, or shrines. In some cases, specific places, such as heiau (temples), were the sites of spiritual activities. Heiau were places of worship in which appropriate rituals were performed and offerings made. Often represented as rectangular platforms of stone, they typically contained wooden or grass structures enclosed by a wooden fence. Specific rules governed the construction, location, and configuration of the houses on the heiau, and depended on the site, the kind of house, the god being honored, and the ritual ceremonies that would be performed there. A heiau could be constructed within several days, used to fulfill a specific function, and then abandoned and never used again.

In addition to the heiau, Native Hawaiian people constructed and used shrines for ritual purposes, including ko‘a (fishing shrines) and ‘aumākua (family gods) or family shrines. During the makahiki (annual harvest festival), tribute sites would be established along the trails that encircled the island, near the boundaries of the ahupua‘a. Here, the people would leave gifts of goods and food for the gods, as represented by the chiefs. According to James (2010), travelers might also leave offerings at these structures to petition for a safe journey. Single pōhaku (stones) are a form of sacred site at which offerings were left. Such a stone might be one form of a specific god or demigod. It might be a boundary marker or a burial place, or the site where one could communicate most easily with an ancestor.

Shrines could range in size from a single rock (pōhaku) to a rock structure the size of a small heiau. The ko‘a were one of the most common and most important types of shrines. James (2010) describes ko‘a as consisting of one or more stones that might be naturally or artificially placed. They sometimes had a platform or enclosure, often containing bits of white branch coral, even when located some distance from the ocean.

Another important ceremonial site included in this historic context is the burial site. The Native Hawaiian community has provided extensive information about its concerns for iwi kūpuna (bones of the ancestors) and ‘ilina (graves) over the course of the Project and in the meetings and interviews conducted as part of this study.

Property types associated with this historic context include heiaus; shrines and altars, including pōhaku; graves, burial caves, and sites recognized as places where spirits dwell or visit.

Notable Events and Individuals in Hawaiian History

Archaeologists debate the origins of pre-Western contact Hawaiians, but there is general agreement that the first Hawaiian settlements were from elsewhere in Polynesia (Kirch 1985, 2000). During the early colonization period, Hawaiian society probably was based on chiefdoms, although with little hierarchical differences between them initially. Over time, Hawaiian culture developed the hierarchical socio-political and elaborate kapu systems recorded

at the time of Western contact. Archaeologists attribute these changes in part to increased population, which required migration inland into previously unoccupied areas. This resulted in the development of inland agricultural systems and dispersed populations. The establishment of the ahupua‘a land division system meant that territorial boundaries were more rigidly defined and there was less unclaimed land available for exploitation. As a result, warfare became an increasingly effective way for chiefs to maintain and expand their power. Class stratification and territorialism became rigid, and were intricately linked with the religious hierarchy. During the two centuries prior to European contact, Hawaiians were involved a series of battles between ruling chiefs attempting to expand their kingdoms, even beyond the limits of individual islands (Cordy 2000). By 1810, Kamehameha had unified the Hawaiian Islands, ending the old political order.

In 1778, Captain James Cook first sighted the Hawaiian Islands, initiating 40 years of intermittent contact with European foreigners (Daws 1968). The Islands were a convenient way station for ships, and became important stop for trading ships. Eventually, Europeans began settling on the Hawaiian Islands. It became fashionable for chiefs to employ foreigners, both as tradesmen and as foreign advisors. Europeans married into the native population, established business interests, and settled within the Hawaiian communities. European influences on material culture, socio-economics, and traditional beliefs had profound effects on the Native Hawaiian culture. The arrival of Christian missionaries to Hawai‘i led to proselytizing and ultimately the rise of a Christian Hawaiian community. The overthrow of the kapu system was another significant point at which traditional Hawaiian culture was undermined. Finally, as discussed elsewhere in this study, changes in land rights further disrupted the traditional way of life.

Hawaiian oral traditions and historic documents record places that are associated with important people or where a number of significant events in Hawaiian pre-recorded and recorded history. Property types associated with this historic context include battle fields and other site of conflict; birth and death places of important individuals; and structures associated with significant events.

Places of the Traditional Resource Management System

Hawaiian culture is rooted in the ‘āina (land/environment). The concept of *mālama ‘āina* – caring for the land and natural resources – was an essential part of Hawaiian culture, permeating its cosmology, and social and subsistence practices (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992) . With no distinction between nature and culture, the well-being of the Hawaiian environment and resources (land, sea, and air) was a practical, moral, and spiritual obligation for Hawaiians. This obligation was reciprocated – Hawaiians cared for the ‘āina (environment), and it cared for and sustained them. Supernatural beings, gods and demi-gods, also participated in this system, be they forces of nature, plants, animals, and geological features.

Hawaiians developed an integrated system of resource management to use and conserve natural resources that created a self-sustaining structure. This system starts, practically speaking, at the level of the ahupua‘a, and continues to the smallest garden patch, fish pond, or stand of trees within the ahupua‘a. It was not limited to land parcels and resources, but extended through the social organization and the roles, rights, and obligations of people from the mō‘ī (king) to the

aliʻi (chiefs, nobles) to ʻohana and individual makaʻāinana (commoner). Gathering rights assured people of access to all necessary resources within the ahupuaʻa. Resources were not limited to subsistence items, but also included the raw materials for tools, crafts, and ornamentation, such as bird feathers, canoe, weapons, clothing, and household goods. Lands were set aside whose resources were worked and harvested for the aliʻi.

This resource management system included set parameters of rules, prohibitions, and guidance from the deities for working agricultural lands and aquatic resources. The system required konohiki (headman of an ahupuaʻa under the chief) land managers with an intimate knowledge of the land, to place restrictions (kapu) on aspects of the resource collection system. The ahupuaʻa was probably the most important unit of land in the traditional Hawaiian land management system. Ahupuaʻa are typically wedge-shaped land divisions extending from the mountain tops down to the coast, and beyond, into the coral reefs. Passing through the various ecological zones of the island, ahupuaʻa were essentially self-contained ecological and economic production systems. Wai (water) and the natural flow of fresh water is part of the structure of the ahupuaʻa and traditional resource management system. Wai falls as rain in the mountains as a gift from the gods (Paman 2010). It flows over waterfalls and into kahawai (streams) and can be used for irrigation via auwai (traditional irrigation ditch systems) to grow crops, such as taro and sweet potato. Water links the mountains to the sea in each ahupuaʻa, and is an integral part of the land tenure system.

Property types associated with this historic context include springs and water systems; resource collection and processing sites (e.g., salt, kapa, canoe); wet- and dry-land agricultural fields; fish ponds; and other resource areas.

Trails and Boundary Markers

Ancient ala hele (trails) were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources (Apple 1965). The ala hele were the link between individual residences, resource collection sites, agricultural field systems, and larger communities – the religious and political centers of the island. Along Hawaiian trails may be found a wide variety of cultural resources, including but not limited to: residences (both permanent and temporary), enclosures, wall alignments, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, ʻilina (burial sites), petroglyphs, subsidiary trails, and other sites of significance to the families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails.

In addition to the ala hele and ala loa (major thoroughfares which usually encircled the island), that run laterally to the shore, there is another set of trails that run from the shore to the uplands. The nature of traditional land use and residency practices meant that every ahupuaʻa also included one or more mauka (toward the mountains) to makai (toward the sea) trails. The ancient trail system also included many kinds of trails and employed a variety of methods of travel that were adapted to the natural environment and needs of the travelers.

The ancient trail system was once a part of the landscape in and passing through the HART Project area. It is the Hawaiian experience that these trails were, and still remain, important features of the cultural landscape. Even in circumstances where physical remains of the ancient

trails have been erased by development and modern land use, it is believed that the poʻe kahiko (ancient people) still walk the land—sometimes in huakaʻi pō (processions of night marchers) (Luomala 1983; Interview with Thelma Parish, May 2, 1997, Maly and Maly 2012:818).

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced)(Apple 1965). By the mid nineteenth century, wheeled carts were being used on some of the trails. In some cases the old ala hele-ala loa, were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, and others were simply abandoned for newer more direct routes. In establishing modified trail- and early road-systems, portions of the routes were moved far enough inland so as to make a straight route, thus, taking travel away from the shoreline. In 1847, King Kamehameha III established the alanui aupuni system in the Hawaiian Islands.

In the Project area, and across most of the Hawaiian Islands, the alanui aupuni system was developed from the ancient ala hele, with sections of the modern roads being built over the ancient trails. Where possible, the work on the traditional ala hele focused on straightening, widening, and smoothing passable routes. In other sections—due to difficult terrain or loss of population—the ala hele were abandoned for newer, more direct, routes. By the late 1800s, the first ala hao (railways) were set in place across the Project area. The rails were tied to development of large sugar plantations and the emerging communities which grew up around the plantations.

Property types associated with this historic context include trails, and single or multiple stone features.

Thematic Supplements Developed for Section 4

Most of the wahi pana identified in the Section 4 Project area, as presented below, fall within the five context themes developed for the HART project. Several wahi pana, however, were not adequately captured within the historic context themes as written for the Sections 1-3 TCP Management report (SRI Foundation 2012). We decided to expand upon the thematic statements to enable a more complete evaluation and to identify specific property types that relate to these themes. Additional research was conducted to supplement the second and third themes as discussed above.

Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world

In Hawaiian culture ritual and ceremony were practiced daily as people gave thanks to their akua and prayed for their guidance and assistance (Cordy 2000). Ceremonial activities were also associated with specific places, events, and times in the annual ritual calendar. The New Year, when the god Lono returns to the land in October bringing the rains and the promise of fertility, was, and continues to be, an important ceremonial occasion celebrated throughout the Hawaiian Islands.

The Makahiki festival began in mid-October and extended for four months, during which the regular prohibitions (kapu) were relaxed and people engaged in feasting and various forms of entertainment (Beckwith 1940). Ritual observances were conducted to welcome Lono and give thanks. Tribute in the form of food, animals, kapa, and other resources were collected from each ahupua‘a in an island wide procession lead by the Lono priests. Offerings were left at the district boundary on an altar (ahu) marked by a stone or wooden figure in the form of a pig (pua‘a) representing the pig god Kamapua‘a (Cordy 2000). Games to test the body and mind were held in honor of Lono, who is credited with starting the Makahiki games (Beckwith 1940). These games included athletic competitions, such as boxing and foot races, as well as games of strategy, such as Konane (checkers). Other games, included ‘ulu maika (a type of bowling), marksmanship competitions with a short javelin (pahe‘e), puhenehene, a guessing game with pebbles, wrestling, and hula dancing (HawaiiHistory.org http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ig.page&PageID=534) accessed March 26, 2013).

Property types associated with this historic context include shrines of all kinds, altars and tribute sites, as well as places associated the makahiki, including prepared gaming sites or features.

Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history

In addition to notable events in the past, like all people, Hawai‘i has its notable figures as well. These figures were part of a hierarchical society founded on the interdependence among the akua, ali‘i, kahuna (priests and experts) and maka‘āinana (people of the land, the common people) (SRI Foundation 2012). The ali‘i were the ruling class composed of the mō‘ī (supreme chief), as well as chiefs of higher and lesser status and their administrators; rank was determined by the degree of blood connections to the mō‘ī. Individuals not of the ruler’s blood line could also be elevated by the ruler to chiefly status in recognition of special skills or services (Cordy 2000). Intermarriage among rulers and chiefs was practiced to form alliances and to maintain bloodlines. Chiefs were allocated lands by the rulers and given control over the people and resources within them. The maka‘āinana were required to pay tribute to the chiefs, in the form of food and labor, and who in turn were responsible for ensuring continued prosperity through their divine mana (supernatural or divine power)(Maly and Maly 2012). Rulers had the power of life and death and bestowed this power (kapu) to others of high rank.

Chiefs held their rank based on their genealogical connections to the gods through one of the two sons of Ki‘i, as told in a Hawaiian origin chant (Beckwith 1951). Family ties to the ruler, and hence to the gods, were similarly calculated and recorded in song and chants and manifested through other expressions of elite status (Beckwith 1940). Cordy (2000) notes that at the time Cook landed at Kaua‘i in 1778, 106,000 people were living on the Island of Hawai‘i. There the social stratum occupied by the chiefly class was extremely limited to five percent of the population. In this higher rank was one ruler, perhaps twenty high chiefs and their ‘ohana, and as many as 600 Konohiki (overseers). All others were commoners. To the maka‘āinana, the ali‘i were viewed as living representatives of the gods and treated as such in story and song (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992).

Property types associated with this historic context include the places at which important figures lived, died and were buried, or at which events occurred that are attributable to the individual.

Each of the themes developed for the TCP study present different aspects of Hawaiian life that are important to Hawaiian history and culture. By presenting these themes, we can discuss the findings of our research and begin the process of evaluating wahi pana found in or near the project area for their National Register eligibility.

Findings

The cultural resources studies conducted as part of the Project have emphasized information from past anthropological (including archaeology, ethnography, and biological anthropology), historical, and architectural studies. A substantial amount of this information comes from Hawaiian language resources and the writings of early residents (often the original sources of the written accounts, or witnesses to some of the histories being described). Many of these accounts were written with the explicit intent of recording information about important places, events, and practices that otherwise would have been forgotten; these written records take on the role of the interview. The native language accounts, often written for the express purpose of recording important information about things that should not be forgotten, enable this study to draw on first-hand experiences in considering the issue of previously unidentified TCPs (wahi pana) in the Project area.

The interviews conducted for this study did not elicit the names of any additional wahi pana in or near the Project area, or provide any additional insights to wahi pana discussed in this report. Instead, we relied upon the voices of the native people present in historical accounts, especially native Hawaiian newspapers, to identify the sacred and named places. What the interviewees did provide were thoughts and feelings that conveyed a deep connection to and care about the land. As attested in all of the interviews undertaken in this study, and during the previous investigation of Project Sections 1-3, the importance of sacred and storied places, and the commitment, wherever possible, to respecting and honoring them as part of the living heritage of the traditional Hawaiian community.

Identification of the Inoa ʻĀina (Named Places)

Research investigating traditional named places within or near the Section 4 Project area encountered references to hundreds of inoa ʻāina from Kalihi to Waikīkī. This result is consistent with the findings for HART Project Sections 1-3, which demonstrate the storied nature of the landscape. Technical Report (Kumu Pono Associates 2013) of this study specifically identifies more than 180 place names within the Section 4 Project area, which are presented in abbreviated form in Appendix B of the Management Summary. Appendix B presents inoa ʻāina (named places) for which we found recorded traditions or were frequently referenced in historical accounts reviewed as a part of this study. These named localities provide foundational information for the identification of sites that, with further analysis, could be considered TCPs. While fairly extensive, the list in Appendix B is in no way exhaustive; it simply sets a frame work for consideration of notable places in Hawaiian history within the Kona District of Oʻahu. One hundred and five (105) place names in Appendix B are shaded to indicate that, based on

claims in the Māhele ʻĀina (division of the land), they are identified as being in or near the project area.

The inoa ʻāina in Appendix B represent the raw material of named places from which we created a smaller "short list" of places that are in or near the Project area. We followed the same methods in developing this short list that we used for the HART Project Sections 1-3 TCP investigation (SRI Foundation 2012). Each of the place names and their individual descriptions were examined. Places that lacked description or lacked a story specific to the place were removed from this short list. These included entries described only as an "ʻili land," or places described as "A land area," for example. Other properties not selected for the short list included properties that were only minimally described, such as, "Pond situated in the ʻili of Iwilei," or "A coastal point, the former location of the Honolulu Lighthouse…." All these places have importance by virtue of their being named; however, the study focused on those places that could be identified as wahi pana. Through this selection process, we identified 32 wahi pana, and six ahupuaʻa. The ahupuaʻa are discussed first, followed by the individual wahi pana.

Appendix C of the Management Summary indexes the inoa ʻāina that are discussed further in this report. This index cross references these place names with information in Technical Report (Kumu Pono Associates 2013).

Ahupuaʻa Discussion

Ahupuaʻa are traditional land divisions that are part of a system of land tenure that developed late in prehistory in the Hawaiian Islands (Kirch 2000). Each ahupuaʻa, and a brief story or tradition found through historic research, is presented below in the order they appear in the Section 4 Project area from west to east. Note, the ahupuaʻa of Honolulu and Waikīkī are unusual in that they do not extend mauka to makai as do most ahupuaʻa in the Hawaiian Islands. Instead, the ahupuaʻa of Pauoa, Makiki and Mānoa, as seen on Figure 1, are cut off from the shoreline by Honolulu and Waikīkī. It is currently unknown why the ahupuaʻa of Honolulu and Waikīkī are configured in this manner but the explanation may relate to land use decisions following western contact (Kepā Maly, personal communication).

Kahauiki/Hauiki. "Kahauiki Stream irrigated a moderate-sized area of terraces extending from the sea inland for about half a mile…" (Handy 1940, quoted in Kumu Pono Associates 2013:25).

Kalihi (The boundary or edge). A land area noted for extensive settlement, agricultural development, ceremonial sites, and in several important traditional accounts– notably traditions of the goddess, Haumea or Papa, her husband, Wākea, and the supernatural breadfruit tree, Kāmehaʻikana (Kumu Pono Associates 2013:34).

"Extensive terraces covered all the flatland in lower Kalihi Valley for approximately 1.25 miles on both sides of the stream. Above this the valley is too narrow for terraces for a mile or more; but in upper Kalihi there are numerous small areas that were developed as terraces. Bennett, quoted by Kumu Pono Associates (2013:25) says of this valley: "Human dwellings and cultivated lands are here very few, or scattered thinly over a great

extent of probably the finest soil in the world." McAllister (1933), quoted by Kumu Pono Associates (2013:25), notes that "on the Ewa side of the stream the home site is still to be seen at a place called Kupēhau where the chiefs of Hawai'i resorted because of the delicious poi and tender taro tops to be had there. Kamehameha the first was one of the chiefs who visited the spot."

Kapālama / Pālama (The lama enclosure). Land area cited in traditions, and noted for ceremonial sites, agricultural and fishery resources. The land area was named for the practice of constructing a lama wood enclosure in which couples of high rank lived to conceive a child. (Kumu Pono Associates 2013:37).

"Kapālama had two streams watering its terrace area, which was almost continuous from Iwilei up to the foothills above School Street, an area measuring about three quarters of a mile both in depth inland and in breadth" (Kumu Pono Associates 2013:25).

Nu'uanu (Cold height). "In upper Nuuanu there are many small valleys which open into the main valley on either side of the stream… From Waolani to Kapālama the terraces were continuous on the level and gently sloping land between the Nuuanu and Waolani Streams, past Wyllie and Judd Streets and throughout the section on the north side of the valley, down what is now Liliha Street. In many vacant lots, yards, and gardens above and below Judd Street traces of terraces may still be seen…" (Meyen 1981, quoted in Kumu Pono Associates 2013:24).

Honolulu (Calm/Peaceful cove). Area once known as Kou, which in the early historical period became the seat of the Hawaiian Government, being the formal capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom since the 1840s. (Kumu Pono Associates 2013:31).

"At about the same time when the Lord Marshal Kou was staking out his fishing camp along the harbor, another chief, it is said, occupied another fief under Kakuhihewa farther up the valley. This chief's name was Honolulu. For many years, far into the time of the white men's occupation of the island, a stone that stood near the intersection of Liliha and School streets was called Pohaku o Honolulu, the Honolulu stone. But the area between the present course of Hotel Street and the sea was "the land of Kou [Gessler 1942:8]" (quoted in Kumu Pono Associates 2013:7).

Waikīkī (Spouting water). First described during the 1792 Vancouver expedition to the Sandwich Islands.

"...The verge of the shore was planted with a large grove of coconut palms, affording a delightful shade to the scattered habitations of the natives… We pursued a pleasing path back into the plantation, which was nearly level and very extensive, and laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with taro, yams, sweet potatoes, and the cloth plant. These, in many cases, were divided by little banks on which grew the sugar cane and a species of Draecena without the aid of much cultivation, and the whole was watered in a most ingenious manner by dividing the general stream into little aqueducts leading in various directions so as to supply the most distant fields at pleasure, and the soil seems to repay the labor and industry of these people by the luxuriancy of its production" (Menzies 1920 quoted in Kumu Pono Associates 2013:23).

Ahupua‘a are generally land divisions that extend mauka to makai, and contain within them different resource zones ranging from the mountain forests to the coastal plain and the near shore ocean. In the past, the people living in each ahupua‘a had access to all the natural resources they needed to sustain life. To this day, Native Hawaiians use the resource zones within the ahupua‘a for traditional purposes (for a more complete discussion of the ahupua‘a land division, see SRI Foundation 2012). We believe the ahupua‘a are constituent parts of a broader Hawaiian cultural landscape, as previously discussed, within which are multiple named places that may be National Register eligible as individual properties or as historic districts. It is within this context that the wahi pana identified in or near the project are next discussed.

Presentation of the Wahi Pana

Presented below are the results of three investigations conducted for the Section 4 TCP study. First, we discuss the wahi pana identified through archival research and assess their historical significance. Then we present the results of the oral interviews, which add a contemporary voice to the wahi pana investigation. Lastly, we examine the wahi pana against information on known archaeological sites/deposits to evaluate where there may be a co-occurrence of multiple resource values.

Wahi Pana Identified Through Archival Research

Table 1 is a list of 32 named places, which we recognize as wahi pana and are advanced for National Register evaluation. Each of the 32 wahi pana in Table 1 is presented by name, the ahupua‘a within which the storied place is located, and a description or associated story. Added to the table on the right hand side is the relevant theme or themes that are needed to guide the National Register eligibility evaluation process. The themes are listed below.

1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land

2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world

3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history

4. Places of traditional resource management

5. Trails and boundary markers

For further information on the wahi pana listed in Table 1, and complete citations, see the Technical Report (Maly and Maly 2013)

Table 1. Wahi Pana in or near the Project Area by Theme in Alphabetical Order

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
Hale Hui (Gathering house)	Honolulu	Kamehameha’s compound at Kou (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959, P. Rockwood map, 1957; and W. Judd, 1975) Also described like a heiau for lesser gods by J.P. Ii in his personal story of life in the Kamehameha household. See Technical Report page 10.	3
Hale Kauwila (House made of Kauwila wood) (also Kauila)	Honolulu	Historical name given to area adjoining Pākākā and the old Fort, and the street which bears the name Hale Kauwila (Kuloloia shoreline section). The name was given to one of the large thatched structures built in the 1820s by the Chiefs, and was the place where the King, his Council, Governor/Judge Kekuana‘oa, the Legislature, Board of Land Commissioners and many other offices of the Kingdom met. It was at this place that many of the major decisions of the Hawaiian Government were made (cf. J.P. Ii, 1959 and S.M. Kamakau, 1961). It was this structure that gave rise to naming Hale Kauwila Street. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No.’s 241, 242, 864, 1910, 1955 and 2609…). For example, Brigham (1908, page 111) recounts an 1837 meeting that took place at Hale Kauwila (“council chamber”). The meeting involved the King, Kauikeaoluli (Kamehameha III), his sister Nahi‘ena‘ena, his wife Kalama, Boki and other chiefs and representatives of France, England, and the United States. Hale Kauwila was a thatched house built of Kauwila wood. The rafters were taken from the sacred house of Līloa at Wai-pio, Hawai‘i, a burial place of chiefs (Pukui et al 1974.) Kauila wood is associated with the akua Kū (Valeri 1985) thus imbuing the Hale Kauwila with sacred qualities associated with the god.	2, 3
Hale o Lono (House of Lono)	Honolulu	A heiau, and for a time, the residence of Liholiho (Kamehameha II), once situated at the area marked by the corner of Fort and Queen Streets. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; and map by P. Rockwood, 1957)	2, 3
Honoka‘upu (Albatross Bay) (see also Kauanono‘ula)	Honolulu	A coastal land situated west of Kuloloia. Named for a chief and husband of Kauanono‘ula. The Hale Hui and Hale Kā‘ili (houses of the gods) were situated here in the area between what is now Queen and Merchant Streets. The ancient trail from Waikīkī, joined the trail of Honuakaha and continued to Honoka‘upu, where a noted fresh water spring was situated, and continued on the ‘Ai‘ēnui. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959, and map by P. Rockwood, 1957; historical narratives; and Register Map No. 900)	3, 4, 5

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
Honuakaha (Marked earth or Coastal land)	Honolulu	A land area bounded by Queen and Punchbowl Streets, once the site of an important coconut grove; former residence of Kinau (k.) father of Chiefess M. Kekauonohi. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; Māhele Claims 677, 680, 683 and 729; and Register Map No.’s 241, 611 and 900). Property described in association with trails in the Kona District. “Let us return to where the trail from Waikīkī met the trail from Honuakaha, mauka of the Honoka‘upu spring.” See Technical Report page 106. Kekauonohi was a noted historical figure, granddaughter of Kamehameha I, married to Liholiho. See Technical Report page 106.	3, 5
Ho‘okūkū (To compete)	Honolulu	Area between Honuakaha and Honoka‘upu, now covered by Queen Street. Healing heiau and a residence of Liholiho were situated here. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; and map by P. Rockwood, 1957). Property is associated with Liholiho (his residence), the trail between Kālia and Kukuluāe‘o, and the Papa heiau along the trail. See Technical Report page 105.	2, 3, 5
Ka‘aloa (Long roll)	Honolulu	Area below Kapu‘ukolo (between Maunakea and Nu‘uanu Streets), where chief Kuihelani kept his wealth (storage) houses; reportedly named for his father. (Cited in Māhele claims; S.M. Kamakau, 1868; and P. Rockwood map, 1957). Kuihelani is described, “Kuihelani was an important person there, for he was of high station. He had many people to serve him, his wives were many, and his household was large.” See Technical Report page 108.	3
Kākā‘ako (Strike and gather)	Honolulu	A land area, ancient fishing village and historic community, situated between Honuakaha and Kaholoakeāhole. In the historic period, a section of the land was used as a quarantine for plague victims. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; Māhele Claims 3455 and 4457; and Register Map No. 900). Property is named in the tradition of ‘Ai‘ai, son of Kū‘ula (fish god). See Technical Report page 59.	1
Kalanikahua (The royal contest arena) (see also Kīkīhale)	Honolulu	The ‘ulu maika field and warrior training ground during the time of Kamehameha I at Kīkīhale. Adjoining Kalanikahua were a number of houses of the sacred high chiefs. The area is now generally under the alignment of King Street. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; and P. Rockwood Map, 1957). Also named in association with trails in the Kona district. See Technical Report page 107.	2, 5
Kalāwahine, (The day of women	Honolulu	A land section reportedly named for a mo‘o deity who guarded the water sources (Pukui et al. 1974). (Cited in historical accounts; Māhele Claims 1034/8400 and 2938; historical surveys; Register	1, 4

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
		Map No.’s 111 and 395; and Pukui et al., 1974).	
Kālia (Waited for)	Waikīkī	An ‘ili land of the coastal region of Waikīkī, noted for its numerous salt works and fishponds. “The trail from Kālia led to Kukuluaeo” (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; Pukui et al., 1974; traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 100 F.L., 101 F.L., and 387; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 111 and 1090). Property is associated with chief Hua-a-Kamapau (Technical report page 78) and Kamehameha I (see Technical Report page 99.	3, 4, 5
Kali‘u (Salted) Also Kali‘u lalo and Kali‘u luna	Honolulu	A land named for a man of the same name, who lived in the area during the time that the goddess Papa prepared to rescue her husband from being sacrificed at the heiau of Pākākā. The area was once without water except when it rained. Because of his good nature, Papa created the spring, Pūehuehu to relieve the people of their need to gather water from afar (J. Poepoe, “Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko” May 8-15, 1906). (Cited in Māhele Claim No.’s 6236 and 11225; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 242).	1, 4
Kaluapakohana (The open/exposed grave)	Honolulu	A land area situated in the Ka‘aloa-‘Ai‘ēnui vicinity where the chief Kuihelani lived, and where he was buried. (Cited in Māhele Claims; and Register Map No. 900). Kuihelani is described by J. P. Ii as an important person who managed the King’s property. See Technical Report page 108. In other accounts (Simpson 1938, p.54), Kuihelani is described as the governor of O‘ahu appointed by Kamehameha I.	2, 3
Ka‘oa‘opa —	Honolulu	Coastal section of land between Moku‘aikaua and Honuakaha. Area crossed by the trail from Honolulu to Kākā‘ako and beyond, where attendants of Liholiho resided in the time of Kamehameha I. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; map by P. Rockwood, 1957; and Māhele Claims 19 and 129). See Technical Report page 105.	5
Kauanono‘ula (The red glowing rain) (see also Honoka‘upu	Honolulu	Named for an ancient chiefess, and wife of Honoka‘upu. Early historic buildings once stood here, among which was the former Sailors Home. (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Historical narratives; and Register Map No. 1390). The story of the beautiful chiefess Kauanono‘ula is recounted in an article published in Nupepa Kuokoa of Jan. 24 1919. See Technical Report page 128.	3
Kewalo (The calling)	Honolulu	A kula land and coastal region, noted for its fish and salt ponds. There was once a famous spring at Kewalo near the ponds, where victims of sacrifice at Kānelā‘au Heiau on the slopes of Pū‘owaina were first drowned. “The priest when holding the victims head under water would say to her or him on any signs of struggling, “Moe malie i ke	2, 4

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
		kai o ko haku." "Lie still in the waters of your superior." From this it was called "Kawailumalumai," "Drowning waters" (Saturday Press, Oct. 6, 1883) The law under which the sacrifices were made, was called Kekaihehe‘e. (Cited in traditional and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 100 F.L., 101 F.L., 387, 1503, 1504 and 10605; and Register Map No.'s 111, 611 and 1090).	
Kīkīhale (Mended house) (see Kalanikahua)	Honolulu	An ‘ili bounded by modern-day King, Maunakea and Beretania Streets, and Nu‘uanu Stream. Reported to have been named for a daughter of the chief, Kou (L.D. Keliipio et al., 1902). In the time of Kamehameha I, Kīkīhale was the site of major ‘ulu maika and training warrior fields in Honolulu; and also the residence of a number of high chiefly families (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in traditions and historical accounts; P. Rockwood Map, 1959; and Register Map No.'s 241 and 900). Kikihale, as daughter of Kou, is named in the story about ‘Ai‘ai, son of fish god Kū‘ula. See Technical Report page 60.	1, 2, 3
Kolowalu (An ancient law)	Honolulu	A section of land in Kukuluāe‘o, and adjoining Kālia. During the reign of Kūali‘i, the "Royal Kolowalu Statute" was declared for the "preservation of life," making it safe for people to travel the trails, and to be respectfully treated. (Cited in Fornander, 1917, and traditions; Māhele Claim 3142; historical surveys; and Register Map No.'s 111 and 1090) Kolowalu is connected by trails that cross Waikīkī and the Honolulu Region. See Technical Report page 92.	3, 5
Kou (Cordia tree)	Honolulu	Said to be the ancient name of what is now called Honolulu. (Various features and named localities cited in traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims; and various Register Maps). Kou was noted for konane [Hawaiian checkers] and for ‘ulu maika [an ancient game likened to lawn bowling] and said to be named for the executive officer (Ilamuku) of Chief Kākuhihewa (King) of O‘ahu. See Technical Report page 7.	2, 3
Kō‘ula (Red sugar cane)	Honolulu – Kewalo	Kō‘ula and Kewalo were lands which the ancient chief Hua, caused to be cultivated. Hua was known as a chief who cared for his people (S.M. Kamakau, 1865). Land section covering the Catholic burying ground and the Ward family's, "Old Plantation" (Saturday Press, Oct. 6, 1883). (Cited in traditions and historical accounts). Kō‘ula is name given to lands cultivated by Hua. See Technical Report page 52.	3
Kukuluāe‘o (The Hawaiian stilt)	Honolulu	A near shore land area in the Kākā‘ako vicinity, traditionally a detached parcel belonging to Punahou of Waikīkī. "This was a famous place in ancient times, and the heiau was Puukea" (S.M. Kamakau, 1865). Noted for its fish and salt ponds.	2, 3, 4

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
		(Cited in traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claims 97 F.L., 387, 982, 1503, 7712, 10463 and 10605; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 111, 611, 1090 and 1471). Property is also linked with Hua-a-Kamapau, the chief of Honolulu/Waikīkī, through reference to the Pu‘ukea heiau. See Technical Report page 82.	
Kuloloia —(also written Kulololo)	Honolulu	Once a beautiful sandy beach on the shore of Kou, and a favored residence of the high chiefess Nāmahana (wife of Ke‘eaumoku, and mother of Ka‘ahumanu and other significant figures in the Hawaiian Kingdom). There were a number of chiefly houses and heiau spread across the shoreline of Kuloloia, between Pākākā and Honuakaha. Nāmahana died at her home on the shore of Kuloloia, and “A younger cousin of Namahana’s children, who was present at her death, was named Kuloloia for the place in which Namahana died.” (J.P Ii, 1959). (Cited in P. Rockwood Map, 1957; Māhele Claims outside of project area; and historical accounts). Also named in tradition of ‘Ai‘ai, son of the fishing god Kū-‘ula. See Technical Report page 13.	1, 2, 3
Leleo (Carrying voice)	Honolulu	Land and stream area. In the time of Kamehameha I the trail from Kīkīhale to ‘Ewa passed over Leleo. The land was an open plain with few houses (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in Māhele Claim 4747; and Register Map No.’s 241 and 900).	5
Mauna Kilika (Silk Mountain)	Honolulu	Named for the mounds of silk cloth traded by foreigners in exchange for Hawaiian products. Area of the former residence of chief Kekuana‘oa, Governor of O‘ahu under Kamehameha III; and situated along the shore of Kuloloia. Area was later called Hale Kauwila, and is the source of the street with the same name. (Cited in historical accounts; and Register Map No. 900).	3
Nihoa (Notched or imbedded)	Honolulu	Name given to an area of the Honolulu shore by Ka‘ahumanu following a trip made to the island of that name, made by her, Kaumuali‘i and others. Situated mauka of Pākākā. Between Ka‘ahumanu, Merchant, Fort, and Queen Streets; adjoining Pūlaholaho. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No. 900). See Technical Report page 110.	3
Niuhelewai (Coconut going on water)	Kapālama	Identified as a place of residence of the goddess, Haumea, and considered by her to be sacred. The site of a battle between Haumea and Kaulu (Fornander, 1917). Also the site of a later battle in which the forces of O‘ahu and Maui fought; the waters of the stream were turned back, and the stream became dammed by the corpses of men (ibid.). (Cited in Māhele Claim 1053; and historical accounts).	1, 3

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
Pākākā (To skim, as stones over water)	Honolulu	Site of an ancient heiau of human sacrifice, dedicated to the god Kūho‘one‘enu‘u (Westervelt, 1915). Later the site of the Fort of Honolulu, and residence of chiefs. In the historic period, the site was developed into “Robinson” wharf on the western side of Hale Kauwila Street; and later filled in. (Cited in J.P. Ii, 1959; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No.’s 241, 242, and 900).	1, 2
Pūehuehu (Scattered spray)	Honolulu–Nu‘uanu	A stream and spring site (said to be an old name for Nu‘uanu Stream). The spring was made by the goddess, Papa, while visiting with the man named Kali‘u (see Kali‘u), who agreed to help her in the rescue of Wākea from being sacrificed at Pākākā Heiau. (Cited in Boundary Commission proceedings; and J. Poepoe in “Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko,” 1906).	1, 4
Pūlaholaho (Little scrotum) Charlton Square	Honolulu	For a time, Kamehameha I lived at Pūlaholaho, later high chief Boki, built a store through which to sell/trade sandalwood near Pākākā, where Liholiho also built a larger wooden building. Boki’s being smaller, it came to be known as “Little scrotum” (S.M. Kamakau, 1961). The great debt of the chiefs from operating their businesses with foreigners led to the neighboring land being named ‘Ai‘ēnui. A portion of Polelewa was later converted into use for the Bethel Church. (Cited in Māhele Claim 626; and Register Map No. 900). A storied place of historical importance that is associated with Kamehameha I and III, Boki, Ka‘ahumanu, and British consul, Richard Charlton. See Technical Report page 117.	3
Pu‘ukea (White hill) See also **Kukuluāe‘o**	Honolulu-Kukuluāe‘o	An ancient heiau built for or by, Hua-nui-ka-lā-la‘ila‘i, a hereditary chief of O‘ahu, who was born at Kewalo. (Cited S.M. Kamakau, Iulai 22, 1865 and M.K. Pukui, 1991). Also associated with the ancient Chief Luanu‘u who was taken there when he was dying. See Technical Report page 85.	2, 3
Pu‘ukolo (Creeping hill) (Kapu‘ukolo)	Honolulu	During the time of Kamehameha I’s Kapu‘ukolo residency in Honolulu, many fishermen and their families lived at Kapu‘ukolo (J.P. Ii, 1959). (Cited in Māhele Claims 22, 30 57, 66, 256 and 2065; P. Rockwood Map, 1957; and Register Map No. 900). Named by J.P. Ii in his description of old Honolulu. See Technical Report page 112. Beckwith (1940, p.220) provides the following traditional account, “On O‘ahu the name Kipapala(u)ulu is given to the ruling chief of Honolulu living at Kapu‘ukolo by the sea, who steals the sacred fishhook of Kū‘ula, god of fishing. Kū‘ula wins it again through the marriage to the chief’s daughter of a child fished up out of the water, who turns out to be the child (or grand-child) of Kū‘ula, and who sends his wife to ask the hook from his father-in-law for a fishing expedition and thus returns it to his own parent.”	1, 3

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Description	Theme
Waikahalulu (Roaring water)	Honolulu – Nu‘uanu	An ‘ili land, the upper section being where the goddess, Papa, embraced her husband Wākea, who was being taken to be sacrificed at Pākākā Heiau, and changed into the form of an ‘ulu (breadfruit tree). This ‘ulu, became known as the deity, Kāmeha‘ikana, who had the power to overthrow governments. Kāmeha‘ikana was one of the gods called upon by Kamehameha I in his conquest of the islands (S.M. Kamakau, 1991). The land area includes the section between Nu‘uanu and Pauoa streams, and a section on the shore, below Hale Kauwila Street, where it joins the sea at ‘Āina Hou, and adjoining Kuloloia and Ka‘ākaukukui (Cited in S.M. Kamakau, 1961; Māhele Claim of H. Kalama, wife of Kamehameha III; traditions and historical accounts; Māhele Claim No.'s 7712, 11219 and 11225; historical surveys; and Register Map No.’s 242, 244, 305, 611, 861, 900, 1090 and 1471).	1

Appendix D of this study contains a series of maps. D-1 is a base map of the Project area showing the location of the 32 wahi pana in relation to the alignment and the APE. The APE, shown in light green stippling, defines the area of potential effects for the Project, which was used for the TCP study (SRI Foundation 2012). Represented in solid green is the project alignment. The general location of each wahi pana is numbered and keyed to a corresponding list of place names. The wahi pana that are within the APE, in whole or in part, are marked on the map with black dots and black outlined numbers. Those wahi pana outside of the APE are marked in blue dots and blue outlined numbers. Note that there are a five wahi pana that extend north (mauka) of the project area: Kali‘u, Pūehuehu, Waikahalulu, Kalāwahine, and Kō‘ula. These places are associated with wahi pana that are inside or closer to the APE either because they are part of a discontiguous land holding (‘ili) sharing the same place name, e.g., Kali‘u; or, they are linked narratively, e.g. Kali‘u is associated with Pūehuehu, which is also associated with Pākākā, a wahi pana in the project area. One wahi pana, waikahalulu, is shown inside and outside of the APE; it is part of an ‘ili with the same place name in two separate locations, one inside and the other outside the APE.

Appendix D also contains four close-up maps of the project area lettered D-2 through D-5, so the wahi pana can be more easily seen in relation to the APE. Each wahi pana is identified by a number and the corresponding name is presented in the map key. These maps also distinguish between wahi pana that are inside the APE, in whole or in part, and those that are outside of the APE. In looking at the close-up maps it is clear that the alignment contains multiple, and in some cases, overlapping areas identified as wahi pana. As previously explained, each wahi pana was defined through archival research to provide location and extent as accurately as possible given the limits of the source material. Boundaries, however, are approximated on each map.

The information presented in Table 1, and depicted on the maps in Appendix D, allows for an analysis of the wahi pana data. The 32 wahi pana identified in the Section 4 Project area have a combined 60 themes associated with them: Eleven properties have a single associated theme, 15 are associated with two themes; and, six have three thematic associations. Table 2 presents

summary counts and percentages of the wahi pana by their thematic association's thereby revealing in general contextual terms what makes these sacred and storied places important.

Table 2. Summary Counts and Percentages of Wahi Pana Themes

Theme	Count	%
1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land	10	16.6
2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world	13	21.6
3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history	22	36.6
4. Places of traditional resource management	7	11.6
5. Trails and boundary markers	8	13.3

By far the greatest number/percent of thematic associations represented in Table 2 are with theme #3, notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history, with a secondary emphasis on theme#2, places of ceremonial importance. A closer look at the data reveals additional information by examining which themes are represented by single, double, and triple thematic combinations.

Single themes

Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3	Theme 4	Theme 5	Total
2	0	7	0	2	11

Properties with single themes are dominated by named places associated with historical figures such as **Hale Hui**, Kamehameha's compound at Kou; but also figures from the remote past such as **Kauanonoʻula,** named for an ancient chiefess, and wife of Honokaʻupu. Two wahi pana are associated with trails (e.g. **Leleo**, trail from Kīkīhale to ʻEwa) and two are associated with gods (e.g., **Kākāʻako,** named in the tradition of ʻAiʻai, son of Kūʻula the fish god).

Paired themes

Themes 1/2	Theme 1/3	Themes 1/4	Theme 2/3	Themes 2/4	Themes 2/5	Themes 3/5	Total
1	2	3	5	1	1	2	15

Wahi pana that are associated with two themes are most commonly represented by themes #2 (Places of ceremonial importance) and #3 (Places of notable events and individuals). These include **Hale Kauwila**, the place where many of the major decisions of the Hawaiian Government were made; **Kaluapakohana** where the chief Kuihelani lived and where he was buried; and, **Kou,** the ancient name of Honolulu, which was noted for the ancient games of konane and ʻulu maika and is said to be named for the executive officer (Ilamuku) of Chief Kākuhihewa (King) of Oʻahu.

A secondary emphasis is on properties associated with themes #1 (Places where the gods walked) and #3, as well as themes #1 and #4 (Places of traditional resource management). An example of the former is **Niuhelewai,** identified as a place of residence of the goddess, Haumea, and considered by her to be sacred and also the site of two historic battles. A wahi

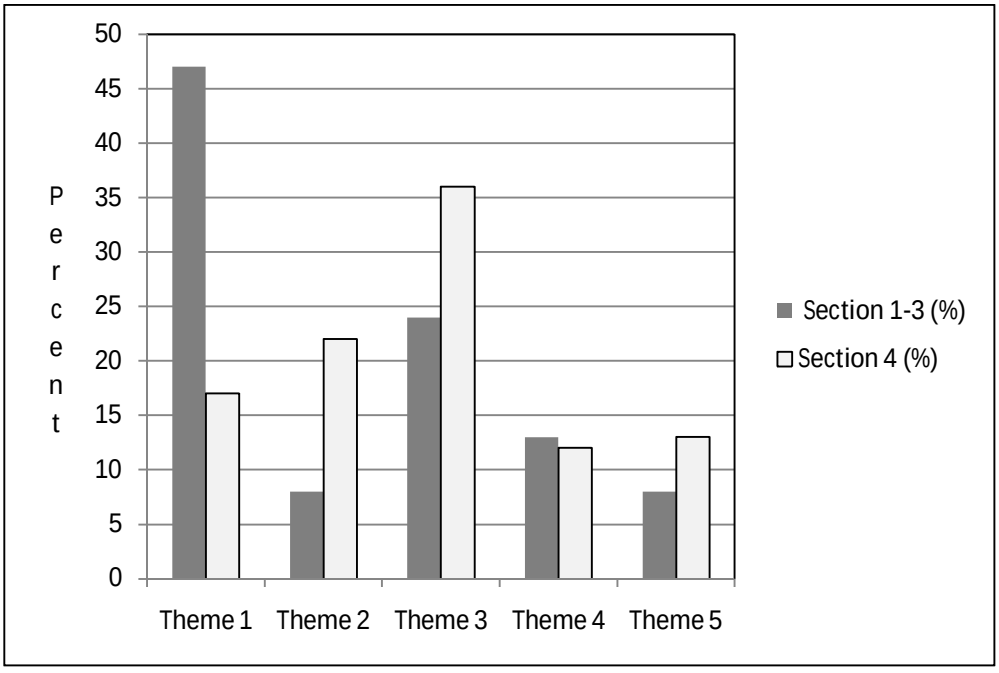
pana representing the latter is **Pūehuehu,** a stream and spring site (said to be an old name for Nu‘uanu Stream) made by the goddess, Papa.

Triple themes

Themes 1/2/3	Themes 2/3/4	Themes 2/3/5	Themes 3/4/5	Total
2	1	1	2	6

There are six wahi pana for which there are three thematic associations each; for all of Sections 1-3, only one wahi pana was identified with three historical themes. Of note, all six properties have theme #3 (Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history) as one of the related themes. Examples include **Kuloloia (themes 1, 2, and 3)** once a beautiful sandy beach on the shore of Kou, and a favored residence of the high chiefess Nāmahana, containing a number of chiefly houses and heiau spread across the shoreline, which is also named in tradition of ‘Ai‘ai, son of the fishing god Kū-‘ula. Another example is **Kālia (themes 3, 4, and 5)**, a place in Waikīkī noted for its numerous salt works and fishponds, which was linked to Kukuluāe‘o by a trail, and which is also associated with chief Hua-a-Kamapau.

Having completed the TCP survey for Sections 1-3 (SRI Foundation 2012), it is possible to compare these earlier results with the findings from Section 4, allowing a comprehensive view of sacred and storied places identified along the whole of the HART project alignment. The Sections 1-3 TCP report identified 27 wahi pana with a total of 38 thematic associations. As discussed, the Section 4 results have identified 32 wahi pana with a total of 60 thematic associations. The bar graph and accompanying data table (Figure 3) below compares the percentage by theme of both studies.



Section 1-3	Count	Percent	Section 4	Percent
Theme 1	18	47	10	17
Theme 2	3	8	13	22
Theme 3	9	24	22	36
Theme 4	5	13	7	12
Theme 5	3	8	8	13
Total	38	100	60	100

Figure 3. Bar Chart and Data Table Comparing Wahi Pana Thematic Associations between Section 1-3 and Section 4

Figure 3 reveals that the focus of thematic associations for wahi pana identified in Sections 1-3 is on Theme 1, "Places where the gods and demigods walked the land," with a secondary focus on theme #3, " Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history." Themes 4, 5, and 2 follow in descending order. For Section 4, the wahi pana with the highest representation are associated with theme #3, with a secondary focus on theme #2, "Places of ceremonial importance." Themes 1, 5, and 4 follow in descending order. If we can imagine the HART project alignment as a transect stretching from Honouliluli to Mōana then the TCP study represents a sampling of a storied landscape from west to east. That landscape is revealed in both space and time through land commission documents, archival records, newspaper accounts, etc., of the 19th and early 20th centuries. What the TCP study suggests is that wahi pana in the Sections 1-3 area were known to Native Hawaiians for their stories of the gods and their interaction with the kamaʻāina. As one travels further to the east passed Puʻuloa and on into the settlements at Kalihi, Kou, Kākāʻako and Waikīkī, the sacred and storied places that Native Hawaiians knew about were primarily associated with notable figures, the rulers of Oʻahu and the Hawaiian Islands for these were the places where the aliʻi lived and worshiped the gods.

Wahi Pana and Oral History Program Comparison

For the oral history program, Elison conducted an extensive search to identify knowledgeable kūpuna and kamaʻāina who are familiar with, and/or whose ʻohana descend from these areas. She solicited potential interviewee referrals from staff of various agencies and Native Hawaiian organizations such as the State Historic Preservation Division, Kamehameha Schools, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, several Hawaiian Civic Clubs, and individuals she knew. Elison identified and interviewed eight individuals who met the criteria and were available for interviews during January and February 2013. Elison also included interviews with two additional individuals, interviewed in 2011 for a cultural impact assessment for the Kākāʻako area (Elison & McElroy 2011), whose manaʻo and information also applied to the Section 4 project area. The following is the list of kūpuna/ kamaʻāina who shared their manaʻo and valuable information regarding the history and cultural practices associated with the Honolulu area:

- Beadie Dawson
- Van Horn Diamond (2011)
- Randie Fong
- Francine Gora
- Bill Haole, Jr. (2011)
- Kaʻanohi Kaleikini

- Adrian Keohokalole
- Doug Lapilio
- Michael Lee
- Dexter Soares

Each interviewee received a copy of the interview transcript for his or her review, along with a transcript release form. Elison has received written permission to use the interview transcripts from each of the interviewees with the exception of Randy Fong and Beadie Dawson. Mr. Fong and Ms. Dawson have given verbal permission to use the transcripts for this study while they complete their reviews.

The oral history interviews produced information both within and beyond the Section 4 Project area regarding traditional cultural practices and beliefs, historic recollections, and knowledge of inoa ʻāina. Table 3 below presents the information on the 41 places named during the interviews. Additional information on the 21 inoa ʻāina in bold can be found in the Place Name Gazetteer and are within the proposed corridor, immediately adjacent to the project area, or connected to the history of naming lands within the study area (see Appendix B of this report). The eight place names within shaded boxes have been identified as wahi pana through archival documentation (see Table 1), The column labeled "Consultant" lists the initials of relevant interviewees: Beadie Dawson (BD); Van Horn Diamond (VD); Randie Fong (RF); Francine Gora (FG); William "Bill" Haole (WH); Kaʻanohi Kaleikini (KK); Adrian Keohokalole (AK); Doug Lapilio (DL); Michael Lee (ML); Dexter Soares (DS).

Table 3. Inoa ʻĀina Referenced During Oral History Interviews

Inoa ʻĀina	**Ahupuaʻa**	**Description/Comments**	**Interviewee**
ʻĀlewa	Nuʻuanu	Pueo ʻaumakua in the upland forests of ʻĀlewa; "And there were pueo which is the owl, just up on top of ʻĀlewa, they are also, at the forest at the top of ʻĀlewa, there's a — pueo, and that pueo also was an ʻaumakua."	FG
ʻĀpuakēhau Heiau	Waikīkī	Heiau which was located at the current location of the Moana Hotel. Kalākaua and other aliʻi worshipped there.	FG
Alaneo	Kapālama	Near the boundary of Kapālama and Nuʻuanu.	RF
Hakaʻio	Kalihi	"...there is a disconspicuous [sic] absence of mele of the Kalihi area." One contemporary recording talks about these place names, and the rain, Kilikilihune."	RF
Honolulu	Ahupuaʻa	"...songs of everyday life in Honolulu, such as "Henehene Kou Aka" which describes the courtship of a couple passing through Kalihi and heading to Kākāʻako."	FG
Kaʻakopua	Honolulu	The location of Central Intermediate School.	RF
Kākāʻako	Honolulu	"...all of Kākāʻako is a "sensitive" area ..."	AK
Kalaepohaku	Kapālama	A ridge; "Ae, Kalaepohaku, which is the name of—is why we named the classroom building on the other side of this, is called Kalaepohaku, just so we could honor that ridge...and reclaim Kalaepohaku for this side of Honolulu [laughter]..."	RF
Kalāwahine	Honolulu		RF

Inoa ʻĀina	Ahupuaʻa	Description/Comments	Interviewee
Kālia	Waikīkī		RF, DL, KK
Kalihi Kalihi Stream	Kalihi	The moʻo, or kiaʻi, known as Wahinehiʻuiʻa, was seen on two different occasions by Fong's mother, as well as by another kupuna, while each were children, along Kalihi Stream: "... there's discussion about a—what would be called Wahinehiʻuiʻa, and so they had—mother had seen that as a child, and, sort of grew up with that being no big deal, just part of the landscape, and it was many years later where a kupuna today, who is still around today, who knew my family and parents, told the story of having seen one herself, a little lower in the stream, so, she was living more towards Gulick, but it was the same story, you know, independently shared between families and even eras, and all associated with Kalihi Stream, so, in our contemporary era, and both were eye witness accounts of having, you know, seen that one particular moʻo or kiaʻi of some sort of that area was being recalled from their childhood."	RF
Kaniakapūpū	Nuʻuanu	"Kaniakapūpū is a place name, or a heiau that is located in Nuʻuanu, it was the heiau for Kamehameha, Kauikeaouli, Kauikeaouli, that was his heiau where he built his—he also had his summer home ..."	FG
Kapālama/ Pālama	Ahupuaʻa		RF
Kapuʻukolo	Honolulu	Hawaiian village at the current location of Chinatown. It was owned by two individuals, Kaʻihioʻahu, who was the head fisherman under Chief Kahahana, and Kuhihelani, who was the chancellor under Kamehameha I.	ML
Kawaiahaʻo	Honolulu	Interviewees discussed Kawaiahaʻo Street and Church.	VD, RF, WH, DL, DS
Ke kula loa O Kalihi	Kalihi	"...the prevalent frame of reference for that Kalihi area, it was called a kula, almost by reference and name, not just by description, right, so, it's "ke kula loa o Kalihi," you always see that reference, so, it's kind of interesting. And "...then it kind of feeds into the description of why battles could take place there because it was a kahua of sorts, and they said it was somewhat flat. And then kula area, fed by streams, so, but, it was, I always wondered why..."	RF
Kewalo	Honolulu		RF, DL
Kukuluaeʻo	Honolulu		RF
Kunawai	Nuʻuanu	"...a natural freshwater healing spring.... The waters are still used to heal from sickness."	FG
Kūwili	Honolulu		RF, KK, ML
Kūwili Fishpond	Kālia		RF, KK, ML
Kūwili Pond	Kapālama		RF, KK, ML
Leleo	Honolulu	"... there's Leleo, Leleo, that's one of the wahi	RF

Inoa ʻĀina	Ahupuaʻa	Description/Comments	Interviewee
		pana, yeah…"	
Loko Auiki	Kalihi	Moehonua's land consisted of 219.2 acres and is in the present area extending from King Street to Sand Island and Mokauea and Puʻuhale Streets. Contained within this property were two loko, Loko Pahounui and Loko Auiki which were once present at the "Sand Island end of the ʻāina."	KK
(Loko) Pahounui	Kalihi	Fishpond contained within the land of Moehonua, were two loko. One of these, Loko Pahounui, was located at the "Sand Island end of the ʻāina."	KK
Manamana	Honolulu	The site of Queen's Hospital	RF
Mokauea/ Mokaʻuea	Kalihi	Island around which many families would fish.	RF, FG, KK, DS
Niuhelewai	Kapālama	"... but just kind of in the public domain is some of the information about Niuhelewai. The oral historical side of it is having heard references to Niuhelewai and pointing out [the] tributary, you know, intermittent stream systems that fed into Niuhelewai. That made sense to me later on, after you start to read and you learn and you hear, 'Oh, Mama talked about that, that's what she must've meant.'"	RF
Nuʻuanu	Ahupuaʻa	Several songs and chants written in honor of aliʻi mention place names.	FG
Nuʻuanu Memorial	Nuʻuanu	Petroglyph of hairless dog, Kaupe, an ʻaumakua/guardian.	FG
Pākākā, Pākākā Heiau	Honolulu	In regards to traditional cultural properties in the Honolulu area, Kaleikini discussed several heiau which date to the 1500s. Pākākā Heiau was located at the foot of Fort Street in downtown Honolulu. Within the vicinity of Pākākā Heiau was an aliʻi complex which also served as the residence of Kamehameha I from 1809-1812.	KK, RF
Peleula	Honolulu	"…a garden area…"	RF
Puea, Puea Heiau Puea Graveyard	Kapālama	Believed to be near Kaʻahumanu Cemetery, adjacent to the Kamehameha Schools' Bus Terminal.	RF, H
Puʻuiki Cemetery	Honolulu	Some have referenced the former name of the cemetery to be Puʻukamaliʻi.	RF
Puʻukea Heiau	Honolulu	Puʻukea Heiau was located in the area of Kukuluaeʻo which is now the location near Halekauwila and Cooke Streets. Most likely named after the heiau's respective ʻili of the same name, Puʻukea. Kaleikini traces her lineage to the chief who is associated with the construction of this heiau.	KK
Puʻunui	Honolulu	Location of guardian moʻo, Moʻonanea; "There is [a story] about the moʻo that lives in Puʻunui, that moʻo is a lizard and is also a guardian. We have many what you call "ʻaumakua;"" "Puʻunui is a district in Nuʻuanu, so you have moʻo there, and that moʻo was a guardian, along with Kaupe, a guardian."	FG
Sand Island	Honolulu		FG

Inoa ʻĀina	Ahupuaʻa	Description/Comments	Interviewee
Waikahalulu	Honolulu/ Nuʻuanu		RF
Waikīkī	Ahupuaʻa		FG
Waolani	Honolulu/ Nuʻuanu	Residence of Papa and Wākea (now the site of Oʻahu Country Club); "...they're known as your "First Father, First Mother," yeah, actually, Sky Father, Earth Mother, Papahanaumakua is Earth Mother, and Wākea is Sky Father, and through our genealogy, we look at them as one of the starts of our genealogy, they living in Waolani, which is in the ahupuaʻa of Honolulu, in the ʻili of Nuʻuanu, so, yeah, that is significant there and there are stories about them there."	FG

None of the information from the oral history program resulted in the identification of additional wahi pana. As Table 3 shows, interviewees referenced 21 of the 180 inoa ʻāina (11.7%) and appeared familiar with 8 of the 32 wahi pana (25%) documented through the archival research. While interviewees were familiar with the wahi pana, they did not provide information that supplemented the archival documentation for these places. Broadly, however, the discussions and manaʻo that interviewees contributed through the oral history program provide the opportunity to reflect on what they consider important cultural issues today (see the interviewees' recommendations below). It also provides the opportunity to reflect on the nature of cultural knowledge and how traditions persist.

Table 4 provides a list of the wahi pana that interviewees in the oral history program named, and the themes associated with them.

Table 4. Wahi Pana in or near the Project Area, Named in the Oral History Program, with Theme.

Inoa ʻĀina	Ahupuaʻa	Theme				
		1	2	3	4	5
Kākāʻako	Honolulu	X				
Kalāwahine	Honolulu	X			X	
Kālia	Waikīkī			X	X	X
Kewalo	Honolulu		X		X	
Kukuluaeʻo	Honolulu		X	X	X	
Niuhelewai	Kapālama	X		X		
Pākākā, Pākākā Heiau	Honolulu	X	X			
Waikahalulu	Honolulu/Nuʻuanu	X				

Like Table 2, Table 4 gives the relative frequency by which the different historic contexts, or themes, are represented for the Section 4 Project area. In this case, however, the frequency of their occurrence (count) is a function of interviewees naming these places during their interviews. Since the interviewees contributed little specific information about the places, the discussion here is focused on what these relative frequencies might suggest.

Table 5. Summary Counts and Percentages of Wahi Pana Themes for Wahi Pana named by Interviewees.

Theme	Count	Percentage
1. Places where the gods and demigods walked the land	5	31.3
2. Places of ceremonial importance, tribute sites, places associated with the dead and spirit world	3	18.8
3. Notable events and individuals in Hawaiian history	3	18.8
4. Places of traditional resource management	4	25.0
5. Trails and boundary markers	1	6.3

As discussed above, the themes used for the Section 4 Project area are the same as those used in the Sections 1-3 TCP Study. We supplemented Themes 2 and 3; the themes as written did not capture several of the wahi pana adequately. Not only did we need to supplement Themes 2 and 3 to better characterize aspects of the themes for wahi pana in Section 4, but the majority of the wahi pana fall into these two categories (67.2%), based on the archival documentation of the Section 4 study.

In the preceding section, we proposed that the HART project alignment is a transect crossing a storied landscape reflecting the changing nature of sacred and storied places because of the changing nature of these areas. As stated on page 27 of this report:

> What the TCP study suggests is that wahi pana in the Section 1-3 area were known to Native Hawaiians for their stories of the gods and their interaction with the kamaʻāina. As one travels further to the east passed Puʻuloa and on into the settlements at Kalihi, Kou, Kākāʻako and Waikīkī, the sacred and storied places that Native Hawaiians knew about were primarily associated with notable figures, the rulers of Oʻahu and the Hawaiian Islands for these were the places where the aliʻi lived and worshiped the gods.

Given that some wahi pana were referenced by the interviewees, and acknowledging that the oral history program has a sample size too small to draw strong conclusions, it is worth considering why the trend for wahi pana named in the oral history program does not follow what we found from the archival documentation for this study. Most of the wahi pana referenced by interviewees are associated with Themes 1 and 4, places where the gods and demigods walked the land, and places of traditional resource management. We suggest that this difference between the findings of the archival and oral history components of the study is an important reflection of how culture changes and persists.

As discussed above and in the Sections 1-3 Management and Technical Reports (SRI Foundation 2012; Maly and Maly 2012), Hawaiians suffered a significant loss of traditional information because of the drastic disruptions Hawaiian culture experienced because of European and Euro-American contact and settlement. Moreover, few kama ʻāina alive today have firsthand experience or knowledge of traditional lifeways, or are still able to articulate that information.

The full range of traditional cultural knowledge is no longer available to Native Hawaiians due to the general loss of language, loss of access to traditional places for traditional uses, and specific attrition through time of the people who had the opportunity to participate in traditional Hawaiian practices.

The results of the oral history program suggests that, while the full breadth of Hawaiian cultural knowledge has been curtailed, the narrower range of knowledge that remains is focused on two fundamental aspects of culture – Hawaiians' relationship with their gods, and their relationship with the ʻāina. As discussed in detail in the Sections 1-3 Study, the symbiotic relationship between god, person, and nature persists. Mele and moʻolelo that relate place names to stories and events extend back hundreds of years, and continue to be recited and told today. These are often stories of gods and mythic times and occurrences. Moreover, much of the ʻike and manaʻo the oral history program interviewees expressed have to do with their memories of subsistence practices. One has only to look at the Glossary of Appendix D of the Technical Report to see the rich variety of fishes discussed, and the importance of plant and animal life expressed during the interviews. Interviewees drew on their own memories and experience, as well as that of kūpuna they knew, to talk story about such matters.

The context in which the basic tenets of Hawaiian culture are passed on are expressed most often in terms of Hawaiians' relationships with gods and land. When traditional culture is eroded, as native Hawaiian culture has been, then we expect the most fundamental aspects of that culture to persist beyond other, perhaps more tangible, expressions of culture (such as clothing, foods, and housing). It seems reasonable that the interviewees in the oral history program would recognize and name wahi pana as places associated with the gods or traditional resources over other types of places, such as those associated with ceremonial importance, notable people and events, or trail and boundary markers seems reasonable.

Finally, the oral history program documents the profound concern that native Hawaiians have consistently expressed over the appropriate treatment of iwi kūpuna and need to show them proper respect. The relationship of Hawaiians to iwi is intertwined with their relationship to gods and demigods and how they care for the land.

While each interviewee has a unique connection and association with the land, their shared values and beliefs can be summarized in the following comments and recommendations:

1. Areas within which burials are encountered are considered sacred grounds. Every effort should be made to minimize disturbance to iwi kūpuna.

2. Prior to construction activities associated with the rail project, there should be a burial plan in place to ensure the appropriate and proper protocol is being followed. This protocol would be developed by cultural descendants and kūpuna of the ahupuaʻa. With this in mind, due to the nature that each burial represents a unique individual, in the event burials are encountered, their treatment should be determined in case-by-case manner, as appropriate.

3. Burials which are encountered deserve proper, appropriate and dignified treatment, with a preference to allow the burials to remain in place. However, several interviewees shared that respectful re-interment sites can also be appropriate if it ensures continued protection.

4. Every effort should be made to consult with cultural descendants and kūpuna of the respective areas should iwi kūpuna, or any other wahi pana, or traditional historic cultural site be identified.

5. Should traditional or historic sites be identified during construction of the rail, efforts should be made to study and learn from these sites.

6. Citing a disconnect between "Western" and Hawaiian perspectives, beliefs and values, interviewees stressed the importance of community consultation with cultural descendants, and Native Hawaiian organizations such as the Hawaiian civic clubs and benevolent societies. This consultation would aim to ensure that development occurs in a responsible and culturally sensitive and appropriate manner. Several interviewees expressed their concern that too much development may cause Hawai‘i to look like places on the Continental U.S.

7. Even though their physical presence has long-since been absent, knowledge regarding the traditional and cultural significance of Honolulu, as seen with the presence of heiau and ali‘i lands, should be preserved and perpetuated.

8. As the density of buildings and development increases in the Honolulu area overtime, historic sites such as Mother Waldron Park and Aloha Tower need to be preserved and maintained for continued public use.

9. Extra care should be taken during any development to prevent disturbance of the natural flow of freshwater to the sea which would directly affect traditional Hawaiian practices which rely on the presence of brackish water. Extreme caution should also be taken when dealing with existing sewer, waterlines and related infrastructure during construction of the rail to prevent further pollution of our ocean, streams and water supply which would also have an adverse effect on traditional cultural properties.

10. Information gathered during the current TCP study should be used to perpetuate traditional and historic Hawaiian place names, mo‘olelo, land use, practices, events and people. This knowledge also serves as a means of informing and educating the public. Educational tools could range from signage and displays within the rail car and at rail stations, to a small museum in Honolulu.

The current oral history program provided only a small amount of information on which to base this discussion. The oral history program did not result in any new information about wahi pana in the Section 4 Project area, and the interviewees only named eight of the wahi pana identified through archival documentation. Appendix D of the Technical Report provides a brief overview of a number of other oral history studies conducted in the vicinity of the Section 4 Project area.

While beyond the scope of this study, it would be useful to see whether other oral history programs have produced similar results regarding the nature of cultural change and persistence as reflected through the knowledge of, and ability to name, wahi pana.

Wahi Pana and Archaeological Site Comparison

Section 4 of the HART project area runs through the historic downtown of Honolulu and its outlying neighborhoods. For centuries, people have lived in communities along the coastline and it is through this region that the rail alignment passes. Archaeological investigations, as well as discoveries made during construction, have identified numerous archaeological sites dating before European contact (1778) and after. Frequent discoveries of iwi kūpuna, either individually or in multiples, have sensitized the public to their presence under the modern landscape and the need to treat iwi kūpuna with respect. In short, the Section 4 Project area is known to be rich in the physical evidence of Native Hawaiian history and culture. With the current TCP study, we have established that there is also a spiritual dimension to the landscape. Again, Native Hawaiian culture does not make the distinction between what is secular and what is spiritual. For the purposes of this study, however, we recognize the presence of two cultural dimensions: a storied landscape, as indicated through archival research and oral interviews with kūpuna; and, an archaeological landscape, represented by the physical remains of past life. What we wanted to know is whether or not we could find a specific connection on the ground between the two sources of evidence that tie the archaeological record with the wahi pana. This will help the City of Honolulu and the FTA understand the full dimensions of the cultural investigations conducted for the HART project in Section 4.

To be useful for the purposes of National Register evaluation, we looked for both spatial correlations between archaeological sites and wahi pana, as well as descriptive correlations; something that ties the story to the archaeological site at a given location. For example, a story about or involving a fish pond (loko) where archaeological investigations at the same location have recorded fish pond deposits. Or, alternatively, a story about or involving a heiau used by a chief that correlates in space with archaeological remains of a rock platform of the kind that is typical of heiau construction. Again, the point here was to explore the possible connections between sacred and storied places and archaeological sites to reveal a more complete picture of the past.

It is necessary to discuss the challenges of this kind of comparative analysis before presenting the results. The two sources of information, ethnographic/ethnohistoric and archaeological, are different. One source comes from Native Hawaiian stories and traditions (moʻolelo) of gods, people, and events in which time is understood through family genealogies and the past is a guide for what is pono (proper, righteous) for life today (Kameʻeleihiwa 1992; Young 1998). Archaeology, on the other hand, is a western intellectual tradition that seeks to understand past human cultures through the material correlates of behavior in space and time (Kelly and Thomas 2010). The former is subjective; the latter more outwardly objective. Both sources of information can, and should, be used together to add knowledge to cultural investigations involving any traditional community. Comparative analysis of this kind allows for parallel perspective on the past that both complement and diverge in ways that can be informative (Watkins 2012). The intent was to see where these perspectives might correspond on the ground.

Appendix E of this report presents a second series of maps labeled E-1 through E-4. E-1 is base map showing the approximate location of wahi pana in relation to past and current archaeological resources reported along the HART project alignment. The wahi pana are represented by numbered and colored dots, black for inside the APE and blue representing outside of the APE. The name for each wahi pana is keyed to its corresponding number as listed on the map. Two kinds of archaeological site information are presented in map E-1. Previously identified archaeological sites are indicated in an orange/beige color. These are sites that have been identified in the past as a result of investigations in which various construction projects required archaeological study prior to, or as a part of, ground disturbing development. Sites discovered through archaeological trenching conducted for the HART Project are shown on the map in blue. Iwi kūpuna identified by the current project are identified as red triangle; those identified by previous investigations are represented in purple triangles. Also shown in green stippling is the Area of Potential Effect (APE). The proposed HART stations are indicated in yellow and identified in bold black lettering. All archaeological information is provided in draft form courtesy of Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i (2013), the cultural resources contractor for the HART project.

Maps E-2 through E-4 show the wahi pana in proximity to the archaeological sites in three areas, wetern, central, and eastern, from the proposed Kapālama Station to the Ala Moana Center. For each map, individual archaeological sites are located along the alignment and identified by its state identification number. Descriptions of the site deposits are presented by site number for each map in a separate list that is included in Appendix E. The archaeological descriptions were provided by CSH (2013). The wahi pana are represented in relation to the archaeological sites, which are further identified in the map key as either previously recorded or identified by the current HART project. As with the maps in Appendix D, archaeological sites are either blue or beige in color and iwi kūpuna are also identified.

The E-1 base map and the close-up maps E-2 through E-4 reveal general patterns in the distribution of wahi pana and archaeological sites along the Section 4 project alignment. The number of reported archaeological sites and wahi pana is sparse on the western end of the alignment as it passes through the ahupua‘a of Kahauiki, Kalihi, and Kapālama. Sites and wahi pana increase in frequency toward the central and eastern portions of the project as it passes through the ahupua‘a of Nu‘uanu and into Honolulu and Waikīkī. Clusters of resources are evident in the area between the proposed Chinatown and Downtown stations, with another cluster around the proposed Civic Center station, and a fourth concentration west of the proposed Ala Moana Center Station. Higher densities of both wahi pana and archaeological sites are evident in the vicinity of the ancient settlement at Kou, a pattern that is supported by the mapping of all inoa ‘āina in the Section 4 Project area (see Kumu Pono Associates 2013).

The impression that there are different concentrations of wahi pana in relation to archaeological sites may be the spurious product of limited information on both types of cultural resources; however, it may also be that the naming of sacred and storied places occurred more often where people settled. If so, then it is not a coincidence that higher concentrations of wahi pana are reported in areas that have been occupied for centuries from the pre-contact period around 1000 A.D to the present (Cultural Surveys Hawai‘i 2013).

Appendix F of this report is a table that examines the proximity of the wahi pana identified in this study in relation to the reported locations of archaeological sites. Each wahi pana was correlated with all archaeological sites within an arbitrary distance of approximately 500 feet (many of the same archaeological sites are associated with different wahi pana given the proximity of both resources to each other in some areas). Across the top of the table are the wahi pana organized alphabetically, the story or narrative describing the wahi pana, the archaeological site number shown on the maps in Appendix E of this report, a brief description of the archaeological deposits, a relative measure of proximity between the wahi pana and the site (closer to, farther away from) and the status of archaeological investigation associated with the site. Many sites have been previously investigated and a report date is provided to give a sense of when the investigation occurred. Newly recorded sites identified through trenching conducted for the HART project are included. Also included with this last column are CSH's recommendations for additional archaeological investigation that will be needed to meet federal and state historic preservation requirements for the HART project (Cultural Surveys Hawai'i 2013).

With the information tabulated in Appendix F of this report it is possible to compare the stories associated with wahi pana and the descriptions of neaby archaeological sites. The findings, however, suggest no direct links between wahi pana and individual archaeological sites. Many of the wahi pana lack narrative information relating to nearby archaeological sites or the connection between the two, while suggestive, is weak. For example, the wahi pana of Kolowalu near the proposed Ala Moana Center Station, is in Kālia an area formerly known for its salt works and fishponds. Archaeological sites 50-80-14-6856 and 6636, immediately adjacent to Kolowalu, are reported to contain fish pond sediments identified as remnants from the Kolowalu fish pond. The Kolowalu narrative, however, makes no mention of the fish pond.

> "…During the reign of Kūali'i, the "Royal Kolowalu Statute" was declared for the "preservation of life," making it safe for people to travel the trails, and to be respectfully treated" (See Table 1).

Instead, the story celebrates the Kolowalu Statute issued by the chief Kūali'i. It may be that other stories about the Kolowalu fish pond exist, but these were not found in the archival record investigated for this study. That there is no apparent connection between the wahi pana and nearby archaeological sites has no bearing on the importance of either the wahi pana Kolowalu or archaeological sites 6856 and 6636; only that there is no link between them at the scale of this analysis. There are a number of examples, however, in which general correlations are suggested, as further discussed below.

Hale Hui, Hale o Lono, Hale Kauwila, Mauna Kilika

The wahi pana of Hale Hui, Hale o Lono, Hale Kauwila, Mauna Kilika are described as important places associated with notable 19th century historical figures (Kamehameha I, Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III). Archaeological deposits at nearby site 50-80-14-2456, however, are described very broadly as "…post-Contact deposits associated with nineteenth-century urban development…" It is possible that a connection exists between the narrative describing the wahi pana and the archaeological site description. All four of the wahi pana date

to the 19th century, or were occupied at the time, and are located in a part of old Honolulu that saw intensive urban development. The archaeological site description, however, is so general it could also apply to other parts of the city. It is likely that the deposits at site 2456 are in the vicinity of the buildings and structures referred to in the wahi pana narrative but are outside of the Section 4 construction zone and will not be affected by the Project. Additional archival and archaeological investigation, outside the scope of the HART project, would be needed to identify these specific places.

Ka‘aloa

The nearby wahi pana of Ka‘aloa is described as the place where "…chief Kuihelani kept his wealth (storage) houses." Archaeological sites 50-80-14-4494 ("…early post-Contact structural foundations") and 50-80-14-5496 ("…pre 1810 to present including building foundations") are in the immediate vicinity of the wahi pana. In this case, buildings are mentioned in the wahi pana narrative and foundations are described in the archaeological sites descriptions but there is insufficient evidence to link the two.

Kalanikahua

This wahi pana is described as "The ‘ulu maika field and warrior training ground during the time of Kamehameha I at Kīkīhale. Adjoining Kalanikahua were a number of houses of the sacred high chiefs." Site 50-80-14-4494 is described as containing "…pre-Contact fire pits; and early post-Contact structural foundations." Site 50-80-14-5496 contains deposits that date from "…pre 1810 to present including building foundations, post molds, coral block floors and walls, fire pits, trash deposits…" Again, there is specific mention of houses in the wahi pana narrative account that may relate to post-Contact structural foundations identified in the archaeological site descriptions.

Kālia

Kālia was noted for "… its numerous salt works and fishponds." Site 50-80-14-6636 contains "Buried remnants of the former Kewalo wetland land surface." In this case, there may be a tie between the water features and the wetland surface that is identified archaeologically.

Kaluapakohana

This wahi pana, located near present day King Street, is described as "…the vicinity where the chief Kuihelani lived, and where he was buried. Kuihelani is described as the governor of O‘ahu appointed by Kamehameha I." Site 50-80-14-4494 is described as containing "28 post-Contact human burial features and the remains of several displaced human skeletal remains; pre-Contact fire pits; and early post-Contact structural foundations." The burial of chief Kuihelani at Kaluapakohana is specifically mentioned in the narrative as is the recovery of iwi kūpuna at site 4494. While it is possible that the remains of this ali‘i were recovered there is no information to suggest this.

Pūlaholaho

"For a time, Kamehameha I lived at Pūlaholaho, later high chief Boki, built a store through which to sell/trade sandalwood near Pākākā, where Liholiho also built a larger wooden building." The nearest archaeological site, 50-80-14-5496, is described as "…containing archaeological features from pre 1810 to present including building foundations, post molds,

coral block floors and walls, fire pits, trash deposits." Again, buildings are described at the wahi pana of Pūlaholaho and building foundations have been found at site 5496.

In each of the cases presented above there is enough information to suggest a tentative link between the narratives given for the wahi pana and the deposits from nearby archaeological sites. We can say generally that the wahi pana are in the same area as the archaeological sites of the same time period and that some of those deposits share similarities with the descriptions given in the wahi pana narratives. Yet without further information, it is not possible to say with any confidence that these archaeological deposits are specifically associated with the wahi pana. This ambiguity underscores one of the challenges of comparing narrative information with archaeological information: stories of place often contain details that are lacking in the archaeological record. Without a material correlate to link story to a place that is observable in the archaeological record, any connection is speculative. Finding the remains of particular building and structures associated with Hale o Lono or Hale Kauwila, for example, while possible, would be challenging under the best of circumstances due to the intense nature and scale of development that has occurred in Honolulu over that past 200 years. Still, such an effort would be worthy, given the historical and cultural importance of these places; however, the areas most likely to contain physical evidence of the wahi pana are outside of the areas that will be affected by Project related construction. As such, most of the archaeological sites reported near the project alignment will not be investigated further. Those sites that will be investigated and are in closer proximity to wahi pana are site 50-80-14-2963 (near Honuakaha), site 50-80-14-6856 (near Kolowalu), and site 50-80-14-7426 (near Niuhelewai).

Comparing information on wahi pana with known archeological sites was done to explore the possible connections between the two in the hopes of adding to our knowledge of the Project area. While those connections are tentative at best, this in no way reduces the importance of either information source. Both information sources, traditional and archaeological, have value in what they contribute to our understanding of the world. What this analysis has achieved is to further confirm the richness of Hawaiian culture in the Honolulu area. Archaeological investigations attest to the depth of time the Hawaiian people have settled in communities along the Oʻahu coastline through which the rail Project will pass. The ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and oral history investigations conducted for this TCP study highlight the sacred and storied nature of this landscape. At the scale of individual archaeological sites the link to nearby wahi pana are tenuous; however, at the community level those connections are much clearer.

Through archival research, we have identified 32 wahi pana in or near the Section 4 Project area. Oral interviews with knowledgeable individuals has added stories about times and places that relate to inoa ʻāina in the vicinity of the Section 4 Project alignment. The comparative analysis of wahi pana in relation to known archeological sites explored the possible connections between the two resources found in the Project area. The next step in the TCP study is to evaluate the results of the identification phase by applying the criteria for listing to the National Register.

National Register Evaluation

The results of archival research, oral interviews, and archaeological investigation allow for comprehensive evaluation of National Register eligibility for the wahi pana identified within or

near the Section 4 Project area. Before this discussion can begin, however, it is necessary to review the general concepts of National Register eligibility discussed more fully in the Sections 1-3 TCP management report (SRI Foundation 2012).

To be National Register eligible, TCPs must meet the conditions for listing. These conditions are: The property must be relevant to a time, place, and theme important in history or prehistory in order to be eligible under one or more of the National Register criteria; and, the property must have sufficient integrity to convey its importance. The five thematic designations presented for this study provide the context in which the wahi pana can be evaluated by applying the criteria for listing to the National Register. The National Register criteria for evaluation are presented below.

> "The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures or objects, that possess integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling and association, and;
>
> A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> D. that have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important to history or prehistory" (36 CFR Part 60.4).

For a property to be listed or found eligible for listing it must meet one or more the National Register criteria; however, it must also retain sufficient integrity. The integrity of a historic property relates to whether or not the property can convey its significance, meaning that what makes it important is recognizable. There are seven aspects of integrity that are applied in making National Register evaluations: Location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association (National Register of Historic Places 1991). Determining which of these is most important requires knowing, why, where and when the property is significant in contextual terms. Should a property's integrity be diminished to the point where it no longer coveys its significance, then it is no longer be National Register eligible.

The concept of integrity is also applied to places of religious and cultural significance as part of evaluating National Register eligibility.

> "In the case of a Traditional Cultural Property, there are two fundamental questions to ask about integrity. First, does the property have an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs; and second, is the condition of the property such that the relevant relationships survive?"(Parker and King 1990: 10)

Integrity of condition addresses the physical state of the property. Integrity of relationship addresses how a property is regarded by members of a traditional community and the role it plays in community identify and continuity.

> If the property is known or likely to be regarded by a traditional cultural group as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, or the performance of a practice, the property can be taken to have an integral relationship with the belief of practice, or vice versa. (Parker and King 1990:10)

To determine the integrity of relationship associated with a place requires talking to those people who ascribe value to it; in other words, to the traditional community. Similarly, only the traditional community can determine whether or not integrity of condition has been diminished. Physical condition, for example, may not be relevant to what makes the place important to a traditional community.

Evaluating the integrity of TCPs can be challenging because integrity of condition and relationship identified in Bulletin 38 must be assessed in conjuction with the seven aspects of integrity listed in Bulletin 15. We followed Bulletin 38 in making our National Register evaluations of the wahi pana because use of this particular federal guidance document for the HART TCP study was mandated under the Project PA. Both sets of integrity concepts are relevant to evaluating the National Register eligibility of TCPs.

In addition, a TCP must be a property; that is, it must be a place that can be located and spatially defined on a scale that is appropriate to what makes it historically important. Parker and King (1990) acknowledge that the first step in the identification of TCPs is to establish that they are, in fact, properties. The National Register recognizes that there is a close relationship between the tangible and intangible when it comes to recognizing historic properties as places of religious and cultural significance. While practices and beliefs may be central to establishing historical or cultural value, these are not, in of themselves, sufficient for listing to the National Register. Practices and beliefs must be associated with location for there to be a property and for the property to be considered National Register eligible. It is also true, however, that a property does not have to have any material evidence of human behavior to be National Register eligible. Each of the 32 evaluated wahi pana identified through this study meet the National Register definition of a site, as follows.

> A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, ether standing, ruined, or, vanished, where the location itself possess historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of any existing structures. (National Register Bulletin 1991:5)

If a property must be associated with place, then location and boundaries are also relevant to defining historic properties. A practice or belief must be associated with a place and the place must have a location and a boundary, at some scale, to be recognized as a district, site, building, structure, or object eligible for listing to the National Register. To address this, information on the location of each wahi pana was acquired, where possible, from archival records. Research of

these historic records enabled the identification of named places in or adjoining the Project area, or part of larger land claims associated with the māhele applicants or awardees. This research provided the basis for plotting the location of wahi pana on modern maps of the of the Project area. Again, due to the nature of the source material, the location of each wahi pana is an approximation and for that reason no hard boundaries are shown on the TCP maps in Appendices D and E.

Wahi Pana

Each of the properties identified in Table 6 is associated with a theme or themes that relate to, and is a product of, the Hawaiian perception of the ʻāina (see SRI Foundation 2012). It is this association with the land that gives these places their importance and meaning. Table 6 presents an analysis of the 32 wahi pana identified in or near the Project area by name and ahupuaʻa according to theme and National Register criteria. Whether the wahi pana is inside the APE, in whole or in part, or outside the APE is also indicated in the last column. Missing from Table 6 is any assessment of integrity. The integrity of relationship and condition of these wahi pana can only be determined with input by the Native Hawaiian community. As such, we recommend that FTA and HART discuss the integrity of these properties as part of making final National Register eligibility determinations.

Table 6. Wahi Pana with Associated Theme and National Register Eligibility Criteria in Alphabetical Order.

Wahi Pana	Ahupuaʻa	Theme	National Register A	National Register B	APE
Hale Hui (Gathering house)	Honolulu	3		Associated with historical figure King Kamehameha I	Inside
Hale Kauwila (House made of Kauwila wood) (also Kauila)	Honolulu	2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use relating to governance	Associated with the akua Kū. Associated with historical figure King Kauikeaoluli (Kamehameha III)	Inside
Hale o Lono (House of Lono)	Honolulu	2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use	Associated with akua Lono. Also associated with historical figure King Liholiho (Kamehameha II),	Inside
Honokaʻupu (Albatross Bay) (see also Kauanonoʻula)	Honolulu	3, 4, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails. Also associated with pattern of traditional resource use – water/springs	Associated with chief of the same name	Outside
Honuakaha (Marked earth or Coastal land)	Honolulu	3, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails	Associated with historical figures Kinau and Chiefess M. Kekauonoh	Inside

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B	APE
Ho‘okūkū (To compete)	Honolulu	2, 3, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use. Also associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails	Associated with historical figure King Liholiho (Kamehameha II),	Inside
Ka‘aloa (Long roll)	Honolulu	3		Associated with historical figure Chief Kuihelani	Inside
Kākā‘ako (Strike and gather)	Honolulu	1		Associated with the akua ‘Ai‘ai, son of Kū‘ula (fish god)	Inside
Kalanikahua (The royal contest arena) (see also Kīkīhale)	Honolulu	2, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremony relating to the Makahiki seasonal ritual. Also associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails		Outside
Kalāwahine, (The day of women	Honolulu	1, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional resource use – water/springs	Associated with mo‘o deity (unnamed)	Outside
Kālia (Waited for)	Waikīkī	3, 4, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional resource management. Also associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation – trails.	Associated with the Chief Hua-a-Kamapau	Inside
Kali‘u (Salted) Also Kali‘u lalo and Kali‘u luna	Honolulu	1, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional resource use – water/springs	Associated with the goddess Papa	Outside
Kaluapakohana (The open/exposed grave),	Honolulu	2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremony relating to burial	Associated with historical figure Chief Kuihelani	Inside
Ka‘oa‘opa —	Honolulu	5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails		Inside
Kauanono‘ula (The red glowing rain) (see also Honoka‘upu	Honolulu	3		Named for ancient historical figure Chiefess Kauanono‘ula	Outside
Kewalo (The calling)	Honolulu	2, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional resource management. Associated with pattern of traditional ceremony relating to ritual sacrifice.		Inside
Kīkīhale (Mended house) (see Kalanikahua)	Honolulu	1, 2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremony relating to the Makahiki	Associated with historical figures Chief Kou and his daughter	Outside

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B	APE
			seasonal ritual	Kikihale. Also associated with deity ‘Ai‘ai, son of fish god Kū‘ula.	
Kolowalu (An ancient law)	Honolulu	3, 5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation - trails	Associated with historical figure Chief Kūali‘i	Inside
Kou (Cordia tree)	Honolulu	2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremony relating to the Makahiki Seasonal ritual	Associated with historical figure Chief Kākuhihewa	Inside
Kō‘ula (Red sugar cane)	Honolulu – Kewalo	3		Associated with historical figure Chief Hua	Outside
Kukuluāe‘o (The Hawaiian stilt)	Honolulu	2, 3, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use. Also associated with a pattern of traditional resource management.	Associated with historical figure Chief Hua-a-Kamapau,	Inside
Kuloloia —(also written Kuloloio)	Honolulu	1, 2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use	Associated with historical figures: The high Chiefess Nāmahana wife of Ke‘eaumoku, and mother of Ka‘ahumanu. Also associated with deity ‘Ai‘ai, son of the fishing god Kū-‘ula	Inside
Leleo (Carrying voice)	Honolulu	5	Associated with pattern of traditional land use for transportation – trails		Inside
Mauna Kilika (Silk Mountain)	Honolulu	3		Associated with historical figure Chief Kekuana‘oa, Governor of O‘ahu	Inside
Nihoa (Notched or imbedded)	Honolulu	3		Associated with historical figure Chiefess Ka‘ahumanu	Inside
Niuhelewai (Coconut going on water)	Kapālama	1, 3	Associated with historical events - battles	Associated with the goddess, Haumea. Also associated with historical figures Chief Haumea and Chief Kaulu	Inside
Pākākā (To skim, as stones over water)	Honolulu	1, 2	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use	Associated with the akua Kūho‘one‘enu‘u	Inside
Pūehuehu (Scattered spray)	Honolulu–Nu‘uanu	1, 4	Associated with pattern of traditional resource use – water/springs	Associated with the akua Papa and Wākea	Outside

Wahi Pana	Ahupua‘a	Theme	National Register A	National Register B	APE
Pūlaholaho (Little scrotum) Charlton Square	Honolulu	3		Associated with historical figures King Kamehameha I, King Liholiho (Kamehameha II), Chief Boki	Inside
Pu‘ukea (White hill) See also **Kukuluāe‘o**	Honolulu-Kukuluāe‘o	2, 3	Associated with pattern of traditional ceremonial use	Associated with historical figures Chief Hua-nui-ka-lā-la‘ila‘I and ancient Chief Luanu‘u	Inside
Pu‘ukolo (Creeping hill) (Kapu‘ukolo)	Honolulu	1, 3		Associated with historical figure King Kamehameha I. Also associated with the akua Kū‘ula, god of fishing	Inside
Waikahalulu (Roaring water)	Honolulu – Nu‘uanu	1		Associated with the akua Papa and Wākea, and the deity Kāmeha‘ikana	Inside and Outside

In sum, all 32 wahi pana identified within or near Section 4 of the Project area are significant in contextual terms and meet one or more criteria of eligibility. It is likely that all have at least one aspect of integrity: location, although this is an issue that must be discussed further with the Native Hawaiian community. Plotting the wahi pana against first historical reference points and then converting these to modern landscapes allows us to speak about location with some accuracy, while acknowledging that none of these locations are, or can be, precise. It is our determination, however, that 24 of the wahi pana are inside the APE, in whole or in part, and eight are outside of the APE.

Wahi Pana and the Oral History Program Findings

The oral history program did not identify any additional wahi pana or change the National Register recommendations of any properties already identified. Interviewees were able to name eight of the 32 wahi pana derived from the archival documentation, but did not provide any additional information about them. Whereas the majority of wahi pana in the Section 4 Project area are related to places of ceremonial importance or notable historical events and individuals, interviewees from the oral history program primarily recognized places associated with the god and demigods, or that related to traditional resources. We believe these differences reflect the importance of Hawaiian relationships with the gods and the ‘āina, and the persistence of these cultural traditions.

Wahi Pana and Archaeological Sites

A comparative analysis of wahi pana and archaeological sites within and near the Section 4 Project area was conducted to determine if there was sufficient information to link the two. Such

a correlation had the potential of identifying archaeological sites linked to, or a part of, places of cultural and religious significance.

For this analysis wahi pana were mapped in their approximate locations and described, based on archival research. Archaeological sites from current and previous investigations in the Section 4 Project area were plotted at the same scale to allow for a visual comparison. Narrative information on the wahi pana was compared with the archaeological site descriptions to determine whether a correlation existed. In this manner, the spatial proximity and descriptive character were evaluated for all known wahi pana and archaeological sites in or near the Section 4 Project area.

The analysis found weak links between several wahi pana and a number of nearby archaeological sites; however, it was not possible to determine with any confidence that there was any relationship other than spatial proximity, at least at the scale of this analysis. On a broader scale, at the level of the landscape, the findings of this TCP study of wahi pana indicate a clear, if generalized, connection to the pre- and post-Contact archaeological record of the Honolulu area.

The comparative analysis did not identify any new historic properties or change the National Register recommendations of any properties already identified.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of the Section 4 TCP study was to determine whether there are any previously unidentified TCPs within the Area of Potential Effects. In the course of this investigation we identified 32 wahi pana, sacred and storied places, in or near the project area as indicated through extensive research of archival records in both English and Hawaiian. Through this research we identified 20 wahi pana that are inside the APE, in whole or in part, and eight that are outside the APE as identified in Table 6 and shown on the maps in Appendix D.

An oral history program was also conducted to supplement the archival research. Eight knowledgeable kūpuna were interviewed to elicit memories and stories of place that could help in the investigation of wahi pana. Two additional interviews conducted for development projects near the Section 4 project area were also included in the oral history program. Through these interviews we learned that traditional knowledge of place persists, even as that knowledge has narrowed with the passage of time. No new wahi pana, however, were identified in or near the project area nor did the information gained through oral interview change our understanding of the wahi pana identified through archival research. Recommendations provided by the interviewees underscored their concern about the importance of leaving iwi kūpuna undisturbed during project construction as much as that is possible, a sentiment expressed repeatedly by all those interviewed for this project.

A third study was conducted comparing the location and description of wahi pana with known archaeological sites, including those recently identified for the Section 4 project. The intent was to explore the possible connections between sacred and storied places and archaeological sites to determine if there may be archaeological sites that are also properties of religious and cultural significance. Evidence specifically linking individual wahi pana with known archaeological sites

was not found. It is apparent, nonetheless, that at a broader level, the sacred and storied landscape revealed through traditional knowledge is tied to the record of modern archaeological investigations: both are a product of an ancient and ongoing relationship between the Hawaiian people and the land.

In our opinion, the 32 wahi pana identified in this study may be eligible for listing to the National Register of Historic Places under criteria (a) or (b) or both and may retain integrity of location. Other aspects of integrity, including condition and relationship, that are germane to evaluating TCPs require consultation with the Native Hawaiian community. We recommend that FTA and HART present the findings of this report to the Native Hawaiian Organizations that are party to the HART Project Programmatic Agreement and consult with them on the National Register eligibility of the wahi pana identified in this study.

When we began the investigation of TCPs for the HART project only one property in the Honolulu area was recognized as potentially meeting the definition of a traditional cultural property: Chinatown. Research conducted for Sections 1-3 identified 27 Native Hawaiian wahi pana from hundreds of named places; to this we add 32 more wahi pana that are in or near or otherwise linked to the Project area for a total of 59 TCPs. All the wahi pana are significant places, by virtue of having been named, but also because there is an associated mo‘olelo or detailed description that conveys their importance as part of a larger sacred landscape. Interviews of elders have added to our knowledge about these wahi pana; however, the primary source of information comes from archival records. Many of these records are legal instruments dealing with land ownership, but others are from native Hawaiian newspapers. These historical accounts are essentially oral histories transcribed by the informants themselves. Only a fraction of these accounts has been translated from Hawaiian into English; other sacred and storied places are within those pages. Today, traditional knowledge about wahi pana exists in historical records more than in the minds of the Native Hawaiian people. It is our hope that the HART TCP study will help Native Hawaiians to “speak the names” of wahi pana once again and thereby revive traditional knowledge where that has been lost. To that end, an objective of all future historic preservation research in Hawaii involving wahi pana should include working with Native Hawaiians to convert recorded history back into living memory.

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Appendices